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## POLITICAL PROCEEDINGS AND PROSPECTS.

*Bolt-court, 20. February, 1833.*

THE country has been surprised; it has been *stunned* by the commencement of the proceedings of the reformed Parliament. According to all that the world has seen of our ancestors; according to the excellent inherent character of the people, that which we now behold is that which a reflecting man would have expected to see; namely, taking time to think; feeling strong resentment; but taking time to think on what they ought to do. They clearly see, by the divisions which have taken place, and by other things which they have beheld, that the two contending political factions have united; they see not the smallest intention of taking off even the smallest of the taxes. They see a determination to uphold the present system in all its parts; and they see the terrible means which are to be made use of for the upholding of this system.

Nothing can be more useful to my readers than for me, in this state of affairs, to lay before them the grounds of my opinion as to the prospect which now before us; and, in order that I may do this the more effectually, and in the manner most likely to be attended with advantage, I must give some short account of the principal transactions in the House of Commons. Though they were told by me a few days ago, that the two political factions had joined in support of the King's

servants, against every proposition for the taking off of taxes, many of them will be ready to ask: "But, why should not the independent country gentlemen be for the taking off of taxes; *they bear their share of the taxes*; they must feel their pressure, in proportion to their means, as well as the middle and working classes; and, therefore, they must be *honest*, at any rate, in their opposition to the taking off of taxes." In answer to this, which is very natural, let my readers peruse the following resolutions, moved by me in the House of Commons on Monday, the 18. instant. I beg my readers to go through this most interesting detail of facts, with great attention. They will then see, "how the *independent* country gentlemen have borne their share of the taxes, and how *disinterested* they must be in voting against the taking off of taxes."

"Resolved,—That, by the act of Parliament, passed on the 11. of July, 1815, being chapter 184 of the fifty-fifth of George the Third, imposing certain duties on stamps, amounting annually, in the aggregate, to upwards of *seven millions* a year, the utmost care has been taken to exempt the nobility and great landed proprietors from bearing any but a very small share of the burden; and further, to make the tax heavier and heavier, in proportion to the smallness of the amount of property on which it is levied; so that each tax goes on, pressing heavier and heavier, from the very rich down to the very poor, as will clearly appear by a reference to the letter of the said act.

"That, by this act, various duties on legacies, and on property coming by intestate succession, are imposed applicable to different degrees of relationship between the legatees and the successors and the deceased, beginning at *one per cent.*, and going on to *ten per cent.*; but that, from these duties

"all freehold property is wholly ex-  
 "empt, and, therefore, from this tax,  
 "which is, on an average, about three  
 "per cent. on all other property in the  
 "kingdom left by will, or coming by  
 "intestate succession, the estates of the  
 "nobility and landed gentry (including  
 "the advowsons and lay-tithes) are  
 "exempted, while the father, the mo-  
 "ther, the child, of the fundholder, the  
 "tradesman, the farmer, or other per-  
 "son bequeathing personal property, has  
 "one per cent. to pay on the amount of  
 "the legacy or intestate succession,  
 "while a brother who has had a thou-  
 "sand pounds left him by a brother,  
 "has thirty pounds to pay on this duty,  
 "and while a distant relation of the  
 "deceased has, on a legacy of the same  
 "amount, to pay one hundred pounds.

"That, in regard to the probates of  
 "wills and letters of administration, if  
 "the deceased leave property above the  
 "value of twenty pounds, his successors  
 "have to pay a stamp duty of ten  
 "shillings: that is to say, at the rate of  
 "two pounds per cent. on the value of  
 "the property; but that, if the party  
 "dying leave by will any sum from  
 "thirty thousand to five hundred thou-  
 "sand pounds, the duty is only one  
 "pound ten shillings per cent.; and  
 "that, in this case again, all freehold  
 "property is exempted.

"That, in the case of conveyances of  
 "all sorts, the duty upon a thing of five  
 "pounds, or on anything under twenty  
 "pounds value is ten shillings, and the  
 "duty upon a thing of two hundred  
 "thousand pounds value, or any sum  
 "above that, is a thousand pounds; so  
 "that, in the latter case it may be less  
 "than ten shillings per cent. on the va-  
 "lue of the thing conveyed, and in the  
 "former case, if of five pounds value,  
 "it is two hundred shillings per cent.  
 "on the value of the thing conveyed;  
 "and thus, in this case, the poor man  
 "pays twenty times as much tax as the  
 "rich man on precisely the same sort of  
 "property, and under the same act of  
 "Parliament: and that, as the act will  
 "show, the weight of the duty goes on  
 "increasing from ten shillings per cent.  
 "to two hundred shillings per cent.,

"exactly in the proportion that the va-  
 "lue of the property becomes smaller  
 "and smaller in amount.

"That in the case of leases of lands,  
 "tenements, &c., where the yearly rent  
 "is five pounds, the stamp-duty is one  
 "pound, or *twenty per cent.*; but  
 "where the yearly rent is a thousand  
 "pounds, or any sum above that, the  
 "stamp-duty is ten pounds, or *one per*  
 "*cent.*; and that tax goes on, from four  
 "hundred a year rental to five pounds  
 "a year rental, getting heavier and  
 "heavier, but increasing in the small  
 "rentals in a most disproportionate  
 "manner.

"That, in the case of mortgages,  
 "bonds, and securities of every descrip-  
 "tion, if the amount of the mortgage,  
 "for instance, be twenty-five pounds,  
 "the amount of the stamp is one  
 "pound, or *eighty shillings* per cent.;  
 "but if the amount of the mortgage be  
 "twenty thousand pounds, the amount  
 "of the stamp is twenty pounds, or two  
 "shillings per cent.; that, in this case,  
 "the poor man pays forty times as  
 "much tax as the rich man; and that  
 "the stamp is no more if the amount of  
 "the mortgage be one hundred thou-  
 "sand pounds; so that, in a case like  
 "this, the poor man pays two hundred  
 "times as much tax as the rich man;  
 "and that, in this case also, the tax goes  
 "on increasing in weight as the taxed  
 "person becomes poor.

"That, in the case of annuities, if the  
 "annuity be for ten pounds, or under,  
 "the amount of the stamp is one  
 "pound; and that, in due proportion,  
 "an annuity of two thousand pounds  
 "ought to pay a stamp-duty of two  
 "hundred pounds; but instead of that,  
 "it pays a stamp-duty of only twenty-  
 "five pounds; and if the annuity be  
 "for ten thousand pounds, or any greater  
 "amount, it still pays a stamp-duty  
 "of only twenty-five pounds; so that  
 "here the poor man pays forty or fifty  
 "times as much tax as the rich man;  
 "and that, in this case also, the tax goes  
 "on getting heavier and heavier as the  
 "parties become more and more poor.

"That, in the case of promissory  
 "notes and bills of exchange, not en-



“ceeding two months after date, if the sum be forty shillings, or above forty shillings and not exceeding five pounds five shillings, the stamp is *one shilling*; and, in the same proportion, the stamp on three thousand pounds ought to be twenty-eight pounds eleven shillings; but that, it pays only fifteen shillings; and that for any higher sum the stamp is no more than one pound five shillings, instead of being, on ten thousand pounds, ninety-five pounds four shillings; and that, therefore, in the former case, while the poor man pays nearly *one pound per cent.*, the rich man pays *sixpence per cent.*; and, in the latter case, while the poor man pays nearly *one pound per cent.*, the rich man pays *threepence per cent.*; and that, therefore, in the first case, the poor man pays forty times as much as the rich man, and, in the latter case, nearly *eighty* times as much as the rich man: and here, as in all the former cases, the tax becomes heavier and heavier, as the tax-payer becomes poorer and poorer; and that, in bills of a longer date than two months, the partiality is still greater, and weighs still more heavily on the needy man.

“That, in the case of insurance of lives, where the sum insured amounts to less than five hundred pounds, the stamp is one pound; that, if it amount to five hundred pounds the stamp is two pounds; that, if it amount to five thousand pounds, or upwards, the stamp is five pounds; so that the man who insures ten thousand pounds pays only *one shilling per cent.*; while he who insures for less than five hundred pounds, and suppose that to be three hundred pounds, pays *six shillings and eightpence per cent.*; and thus the man of scanty means pays nearly seven times as much as the man of wealth.

“That, in the case of receipts, if the sum be two pounds, the stamp is twopence; if the sum be a thousand pounds, the stamp is ten shillings, when, in due proportion, it ought to be four pounds three shillings and fourpence, that thus the poor man

“pays more than eight times as much tax as the rich man; and, if the sum go on increasing to a hundred thousand, or a million pounds, still the stamp is only ten shillings; and that for any sum expressed to be in full of all demands, whether it be for two pounds or a million, the stamp is always ten shillings; so that in this case it may be fairly said that the poor man pays a thousand times as much tax as the rich.

“That, in the case of appraisements not exceeding the value of fifty pounds in the value of the thing appraised, the stamp is two-and-sixpence; that, if the thing appraised exceeds five hundred pounds in value, though it amount to a million of money or more, the stamp is but one pound; so that here the tax falls almost wholly on persons in the middle rank of life, and the estates of the nobility and landed gentry are all nearly exempt: that an estate of the value of a hundred thousand pounds ought to pay an appraisement stamp of two hundred and fifty pounds, instead of the one pound which it now pays; so that here the people in the middle rank of life pay, in many cases, *two hundred and fifty times* as much as the rich.

“That, with regard to apprenticeships, the parents of a poor boy, who give no premium at all with him, have two pounds to pay for the indentures and the counterpart; that in this case, however, where nobody but tradesmen are concerned, the stamp goes on gradually and fairly from thirty pounds to a thousand pounds, a premium under thirty pounds paying one pound stamp, and a thousand pounds paying sixty pounds stamp; because, in this case, the nobility, clergy, and landed gentry, are not concerned; and here we observe, that, while the poor boy's parents are thus taxed, the duties on settlements made by the rich, pay only a twenty-five-shilling stamp on a thousand pounds.

“That there is a total exemption from this stamp-tax for all bonds, contracts, mortgages, conveyances,

“deeds, and instruments for making  
“provision for building, repairing, or  
“purchasing houses and other build-  
“ings, for the beneficed clergy on  
“their benefices.

“That by several acts of Parlia-  
“ment, ending with 55 Geo. III.,  
“chapter 142, which acts impose duties  
“on things sold by auction, a duty of  
“sevenpence in the pound is imposed,  
“in Great Britain, on the amount of  
“the sale of any interest in possession  
“or reversion, in any freehold, custom-  
“ary, copyhold, or leasehold lands,  
“tenements, houses, or hereditaments,  
“and on any share or shares in the  
“capital or joint-stock of any corpora-  
“tion or chartered company, and of any  
“annuities or sums of money charged  
“thereon, and of any ships and vessels,  
“and of any reversionary interest in the  
“public funds, or of any plate or jewels;  
“but that, on all sales of furniture  
“fixtures, pictures, books, horses, and  
“carriages, and all other goods and  
“chattels whatever, there is a duty of  
“one shilling in the pound; while on  
“wool, sold for the benefit of the land-  
“owner or his tenant, or the first pur-  
“chasers, the duty is only twopence in  
“the pound; and that from this duty  
“all sales of goods distrained for rent  
“or tithes, and all sales of leases of  
“lands or tenements, and all sales of  
“woods, coppices, cattle, live or dead  
“stock, and all unmanufactured pro-  
“duce of land, and of all produce of  
“mines, when the sales are made  
“on the lands or at the mines, are  
“wholly exempted, as well as all  
“the produce of quarries, or of im-  
“plements used in quarries, mines,  
“or farms; and that thus, while every  
“product of the hand of man has to  
“bear this tax in almost a double de-  
“gree, compared with lands and tene-  
“ments themselves, the produce of the  
“land bears no part of this tax, which  
“is thus shifted from the shoulders of  
“the great and the rich, and made to  
“fall almost exclusively on the middle  
“and working classes of society.

“That, on the first day of March  
“next, this House will take into its  
“consideration the nature, tendency,

“and effects of the several acts of Par-  
“liament, which impose taxes on stamps  
“and on things sold by auction.”

On these resolutions; on this terri-  
fic statement of facts, I shall say no-  
thing; and, indeed, anything that I  
could say must be imperfect in the pre-  
sent stage of the business. The reader  
will perceive, that the last sentence in  
the resolution pledges the House to  
take the matter into its consideration on  
the 1. of March. Anything milder  
than this; anything less harassing;  
anything giving the House and the Mi-  
nisters a fair opportunity of quietly do-  
ing justice to the people, could not pos-  
sibly have been proposed. I did not  
propose to abolish the taxes, nor even  
to diminish them; I did not propose  
either of these, lest the answer should  
have been, that the taxes were wanted  
in order to keep faith with the fund-  
holder. I, therefore, proposed *that the  
House should resolve to take the subject  
into its consideration*. It was a puz-  
zler! It was a poser! It was like a  
hedgehog rolled up: no knowing where  
to touch it first. It became the duty of  
Lord ALTHORP to say something, how-  
ever. What he did say was, to be sure,  
enough to make one split one's sides a  
laughing; but I will not more particu-  
larly notice it here; because another  
opportunity will take place, and a bet-  
ter opportunity, hereafter. Mr. O'CON-  
NELL was very anxious that I should  
not divide the House upon the subject;  
Mr. FAITHFUL, the member for BRIGH-  
TON, called upon me to divide. There  
was not a sufficiency of time to reflect  
duly upon the course to be pursued.  
Mr. O'CONNELL went to Mr. FAITHFUL  
and brought me word, that he also,  
upon reflection, thought that I had better  
not divide; but postpone the matter  
until Friday, upon an understanding that  
the resolutions should be printed in the  
votes, and put into the hands of mem-  
bers in the meanwhile. Upon this  
ground I consented to withdraw the  
motion for the present. Messrs. HUME  
and WARBURTON were also anxious that  
the motion should be deferred, because,  
as they observed, *the House was taken  
“by surprise.”* This appeared to me,



as it will to my readers, to be a very extraordinary reason, especially for persons who had been in Parliament so long. It was no *new matter*, that I had brought before the House. It was matter contained in several acts of Parliament, the latest of which had been in force for *seventeen years*! Surely, to state the contents of those acts was not taking old members of Parliament by surprise. It was an affair of eight millions a year; it was an affair of a *hundred and thirty-six millions* of money in only the last seventeen years, of which hundred and thirty-six millions, the nobility, baronets, parsons, and landed gentry, have paid but a very small portion. So that it was no trifling affair; it was not an affair of "*twopenny-halfpenny economy*," as Sir FRANCIS BURDETT called the economical proceedings of Mr. HUME. Could a hundred and thirty-six millions in seventeen years, have escaped the notice of Mr. HUME and of Mr. WARBURTON? At any rate, it had not escaped my notice; I had had it in my eye for the whole of the seventeen years; and, if these gentlemen had done me the favour to attend my lectures, in any part of the kingdom, they would not have been taken by surprise now, for, there are now no counties in England except Cornwall and Devonshire and Dorsetshire, in which I have not publicly denounced, in the clearest terms, the provisions of these acts of Parliament.

Faith! there wanted nothing but the statement to stir the blood of the whole country. There needed no flowers of rhetoric, no appeals to the passions; there needed nothing but the unvarnished statement in plain sense, uttered in plain words. There is not a family in the whole kingdom, possessed of any property at all, who does not feel the wrong; but, that which these families did not know was this, that the nobility, the parsons, the baronets, the great landed proprietors, escaped these enormous taxes almost altogether; what they did not know was, that the poor and needy tradesman paid forty times as much tax as the rich Jew or loanmonger. This they now know. I

have, as I told the House, nailed the facts down upon every counter in the kingdom, and upon every dresser of every farm-house; and, I must confess, that I almost regret, that I did not divide the House upon the question. There was no excuse at all for members *not being prepared*. It was acts of Parliament that I was complaining of; and, if there were any member of the House who did not know what laws he was sitting there to enforce, he had no business there. I warrant you that there was no one there who told his constituents that he did not know what laws were in force. Besides, the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not deny the facts; all that I moved for was, that the House would take the subject into their consideration on the 1. of March; and those who would have voted against me, would have voted against taking the subject into the consideration of the House, that would have been all; and, if Messrs. HUME and WARBURTON had voted against me, on account of having been taken by surprise, they would, I fancy, have very greatly surprised the people.

To show how this thing works, how it takes away the earnings and the estates of the people in the middle rank of life; how it oppresses the industrious classes; how, in fact, it takes, in a few years, the whole of their property away, while it suffer the nobility, parsons, baronets, and landed gentry, to escape, I insert the following letter which I have just received from LIVERPOOL; and I dare say, I shall have a bushel-basket full of such letters in a very short space of time. The writer gives me his name, which, when it shall be necessary, I will make use of; but, as he says nothing about publishing the letter, I shall not publish his name. I beg my readers to observe, that, when the estate of these people shall have been a third time sweated, about a fifth part of it will have been taken away by the government, while a similar estate, in point of amount, belonging to a lord, and similarly distributed, will not have paid one single farthing. I now insert the letter. Let it be read by

every industrious tradesman, mechanic, manufacturer, farmer, and merchant, in the kingdom; let them continue to submit silently to the wrong; let them then live like slaves and perish like dogs.

*"Liverpool, 19. Feb 1833.*

"SIR,—A great many persons who do not agree with you on many points, are well pleased with your exertions to reduce the taxes. I observe you lately denounced the infamous probate tax. I wish every person would furnish you with instances of the oppressive nature of certain taxes, at least those who have instances worth troubling you with. I beg to mention the following: my father died worth 10,000*l.* in a remote place, all made by industry and integrity; he began the world with ten borrowed pounds; his property, though all in chattels, was so circumstanced, that he found it extremely difficult to make a fair division amongst his children, to the number of eight; my mother, being a woman of sense, was intrusted with the whole of it for future division; he left all to her; she called her children around her, and proposed to them to agree amongst themselves (first having administered and paid the probate tax), as to the distribution.

"My mother declared what my father's intentions were, in which all the children acquiesced; but from the nature of the securities and other property existing, it was still found impossible to make a division of it, as my mother wished to do. It was, therefore, resolved to leave all in her hands, hoping she would live long enough to bring the property into divisible order, in the meantime, she made her will, and died before the object was accomplished, and now comes the grand grievance, namely, another probate tax on the self-same property; it was amassed by means of infinite toil and self-denial, and has now paid double taxes; while, as you lately remarked, such vast quantities of landed property pay nothing; some of our lives are not very good, and much of this little property will

"soon commence paying probate tax the third time!

"I am, sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,  
"\_\_\_\_\_"

So much for that affair. So much for Monday's work. Now for the work of Wednesday, which made a very considerable and fearful alteration in the manner of carrying on business in the House. I will first give an account of what was done, from the printed proceedings of the House, and then I will give the explanation which will appear to me to be necessary.

"Sitting of the House,—motion made and question put,—'That this House do meet every day, except Saturday, or such day as shall be appointed for election petitions being taken into consideration, at twelve o'clock at noon, for private business and petitions, and do continue to sit until three o'clock, unless the business be sooner disposed of.' The House divided: Ayes, 133; Noes, 5.  
"Resolved,—That when such business has been disposed of, if before three o'clock, or at three o'clock precisely, notwithstanding there may be business under discussion, Mr. Speaker do leave the chair without putting any question.

"That business thus interrupted be taken up again on the next sitting day, as an adjourned debate, in preference to other business of the same kind.

"That Mr. Speaker do resume the chair at five o'clock.

"Motion made, and question proposed,—'That if a House be not formed before a quarter past twelve o'clock, for the sitting between twelve and three, Mr. Speaker do then take the chair, and count the House, and if twenty members be not present, do adjourn the House till five o'clock; and in like manner when the House is to meet at five o'clock, pursuant to adjournment, if the House be not formed before a quarter past five o'clock, Mr. Speak-



"er do then take the chair, and count  
 "the House, and if forty members be  
 "not then present, do adjourn the  
 "House till twelve o'clock the next  
 "day, unless such day be Saturday,  
 "in which case Mr. Speaker do ad-  
 "journ the House to Monday at twelve  
 "o'clock." Amendment proposed, to  
 "leave out 'twenty,' and insert  
 "'forty,' instead thereof: Question put,  
 "'That 'twenty' stand part of the  
 "question:—The House divided:  
 "Ayes, 98; Noes, 37. Main question  
 "put, and agreed to.

"Resolved,—That when Mr. Speaker  
 "resumes the chair at five o'clock, or a  
 "House is formed at five o'clock, pur-  
 "suant to adjournment, the House will  
 "immediately proceed to the business  
 "of the day set down in the order book.

"That committees have power to sit  
 "from ten o'clock in the forenoon until  
 "five o'clock in the afternoon, and  
 "have leave to sit during the sitting of  
 "the House.

"That this House do meet on Wed-  
 "nesday next at twelve o'clock, pur-  
 "suant to the said resolutions.

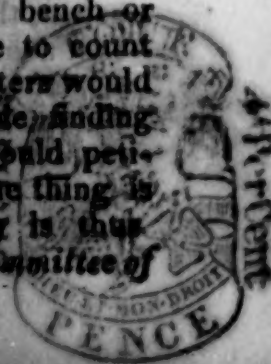
"That a select committee be ap-  
 "pointed at the commencement of each  
 "session, to which shall be referred all  
 "petitions presented to the House, with  
 "the exception of such as complain of  
 "undue returns, or relate to private  
 "bills; and that such committee do  
 "classify the same, and prepare ab-  
 "stracts of the same in such form and  
 "manner as shall appear to them best  
 "suited to convey to the House all re-  
 "quisite information respecting their  
 "contents, and do report the same from  
 "time to time to the House; and that  
 "such reports do in all cases set forth  
 "the number of signatures to each pe-  
 "tition.

"And that such committee have  
 "power to direct the printing *in extenso*  
 "of such petitions, or of such parts of  
 "petitions as shall appear to require it.

"That the following be members of  
 "the committee:—Sir Robert Peel,  
 "Mr. Hume, Mr. O'Connell, Sir Ed-  
 "ward Knatchbull, Colonel Davies, Mr.  
 "Littleton, Mr. James Oswald, Mr.  
 "Clay, Mr. George William Wood, Sir

"Robert Inglis, Sir Richard Vyvyan.  
 "Five to be the quorum."

Thus, then, this part of the ancient government gets a shake; thus the ancient institutions of the country, of which we have heard so much, get a little decent shaking. The great objection to the twelve o'clock meeting for petitions, and for petitions only, was that there would be nobody there to hear the petitions read; and, especially, no *reporters* to give a report of what was said upon petitions. I opposed the project altogether on this account, and divided the House upon it, and Mr. FIELDEN and I were two of the seven (the five and the two tellers) who voted against it. The second division was an amendment by Sir THOMAS FREEMAN-TLE; and in this division Mr. FIELDEN and I were two of the thirty-nine, including the two tellers. Another great objection to the whole scheme was, that the printing of petitions, or even parts of petitions, is to depend upon the will of a committee; and I beg my readers to look well, and *very well*, at the names of the members of that committee. This is a very great alteration; and further alterations appear to be intended. There appears to be an intention to do something or other to prevent the "*inconvenience*" which is now springing up, owing to this little bit of a reform of the Parliament. Trifling as it has been, it has created "*inconveniences*;" and there will be a great struggle in order to get rid of these "*inconveniences*." What every one seemed to anticipate was, that there would be nobody present at the twelve o'clock sitting; that the Speaker would take the chair with twenty members present; and that the petitions would then go on, being presented to empty benches; for, observe, having once taken the chair, he must go on, whether there be anybody upon the bench or not, unless some one choose to count the House; so that no reporters would attend; and that, the people finding their petitions thus treated, would petition no more. However, the thing is done; the hoar of antiquity is thus brushed away; the grand committee of



*grievances*, and the *grand committee of courts of justice*, were gotten rid of at the beginning of the session. Thus the "*ancient institutions*" of the country go one by one; and I, who wish to restore them or maintain them, am accused of a desire to overturn the institutions of the country!

This thing is done: its manifest *tendency* is, whatever may have been its intention, first to abridge, and finally to annul, the great and only remaining right of the great mass of the people, namely, the right of petition; because the people, seeing that their petitions are to be presented in this manner, and seeing this committee appointed to determine about the printing of them, would be prone to conclude that it is no use for them to petition. But we must now resolve to meet this new difficulty. The sitting at twelve o'clock must be well attended by members duly sensible of the task they have undertaken. We must make that the important part of the proceedings of the day. There must be *reporters for the evening papers*; and I do trust that the *True Sun* will have its reporters in plenty and with ability; so that, that same evening, the people in London may know what has passed in the middle of the day. This will be the way to meet this new obstacle; and I, in the most earnest manner, request the proprietors of the *True Sun* to be duly prepared against Wednesday next, when this new order of things is to begin. The whole will depend upon the evening papers doing their duty. My constituents may depend that I and my colleague will do our duty; and if the evening papers do their duty, even this change may be turned to good. "It is not in our *stars*, but in *ourselves*, good BRUTUS, that we are underlings." Oh no, it is not in our stars; it has not been in our stars, but in our base and degraded selves, that we have so long been creeping about as the underlings of those whom the institutions of our fathers bade us to consider only as our equals in the eye of the law. Again I make my appeal to the evening papers, and particularly the "*True Sun*." It must

have able, expert, and diligent reporters. It will be furnished with matter enough, I will warrant it. The evening papers will anticipate the morning papers with regard to the better part of the reports, if those evening papers do their duty. Petitions will come, of course, relative to the stamp and auction duties, for instance; upon those petitions will come speeches, to be sure; and these speeches will be amongst the most interesting to the people at large. Let the evening papers but do their duty, and this new check upon petitions may be made to turn to good instead of to evil.

In the meanwhile, let me exhort my readers to continue to petition. The members of Parliament can do nothing without the petitions of the people; and I beseech the people to bear that constantly in mind. My readers are hereby informed, that, upon further inquiry, I find that a petition, weighing more than an *ounce*, must be sent according to the following rules. If they weigh less than an *ounce* they come, of course, free under a frank to a member. If more than an *ounce*, and *not exceeding six ounces*, they may be sent to any member at the House of Commons, both ends of the cover being left open, and no letter or other writing of any sort being contained under the cover. If of heavier weight they must be sent up by some other means; and those means, as far as relates to myself, must be such as not to expose me to any expense whatsoever; because, as I have said before, I receive nothing from the people, whom I serve for nothing with willingness; but, at the same time, I have nothing to live on but my own earnings; and those earnings I am not called upon to give for the use of the people.

The business, which is coming on before the House of Commons, is necessarily of great and general interest; and one may say, with great truth, that, "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." I never have until yesterday (Wednesday) given notice of any motion at all. But yesterday, I gave the following notice, to the subject of which I beg the reader's attention.



## MOTION TO BE MADE, 26. FEB.

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, beseeching his Majesty to be graciously pleased to cause to be laid before this House, an account of all sums of money issued from the Treasury of Great Britain, and that of the United Kingdom, to be paid to the Government of the United States of America, or to the citizens of those states, in consequence of the award of the Commissioners constituted and appointed in fulfilment of the seventh article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between his Britannic Majesty and those states, which treaty was signed at London on the 19. of November, 1794; together with a statement of the grounds on which the said sums respectively were so issued and paid, and specifying, severally, the dates of the said payments.

"Also, an account of the several sums, so as aforesaid issued, to pay the salaries and allowances of the said Commissioners, from the day of their appointment to the end of the year 1832, stating the name of each of the said Commissioners, and specifying the sum which each Commissioner has received.

"Also, an account of the several sums, so as aforesaid issued, to defray all other charges, demands, and expenses, arising out of the appointment, and the proceedings of the said commission.

## MOTION FOR 29. FEB.

"An account of the total number of actions, which, in the five years immediately preceding the year 1802, were brought in the Court of King's Bench, against beneficed Clergymen of the established Church for having been ejected, by non-residence or otherwise, the act of the 21. year of Henry VIII., chap. 13, and of the 13. Elizabeth, chap. 20, which actions were quashed, or nullified, or set aside by George III. chap. 81.

"Also, an account of all sums of money, issued from the treasury of the United Kingdom, for the relief of the poor clergy of the established Church of England and Ireland, from the year 1800 to the year 1832, both years included.

"Also, an account of the military and naval half-pay, paid to persons in holy orders of the established Church, from the year 1800 to the year 1832, both years included; and adding thereunto, the names and description of the benefices of such of the said spiritual persons, as have been allowed to sell their half-pay, since they entered into holy orders.

## MOTION FOR 5. MARCH.

"A return of the names of all the justices of the peace in the several counties of England and Wales and Scotland, stating against each name, whether the person so named be a clergyman of the established Church, a naval or military officer on full or half-pay, or be in the receipt of a salary as a justice of the peace, or be in the receipt of any salary, pension, sinecure, or other pay, allowance, or emolument, coming out of the public taxes, or be an issuer of paper-money, commonly called bank notes.

These are very important matters; and the people ought to have their eyes upon the discussion of them. If the House should be pleased to agree to the motions, the public will immediately perceive the great utility of the information called for. If the motions should be rejected, the people will have an opportunity of hearing the grounds upon which the papers will be moved for, and the grounds upon which they shall have been refused. It is not for me, in this publication of mine, to anticipate that the House will ever do wrong while I am in it; or, that it has done wrong. But, having a portion of the press in my hands, it is my bounden duty to lay the facts before my readers, leaving them to draw their conclusions from those facts.

I will, in this place, offer no opinion about any of the measures now in contemplation: but I will describe, as accurately as I can, the provisions of the bill which GREY has brought into the House of Lords; and which, if it pass there, will, of course, come before the House of Commons; and which provisions are, as I understand, as follows:

"The Bill, entitled an Act for the more effectual Suppression of Local Disturbances and Dangerous Associations in Ireland.

"The following is an abstract of its principal provisions:

"Clause 1. authorises the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, by his order, to *prohibit* or *suppress*, the meeting of any *association* or *body* of persons in Ireland, which HE SHALL DEEM to be dangerous to the public peace or safety, or inconsistent with the due administration of the law. This clause makes it a misdemeanour to be present at such meeting so *prohibited* or *suppressed*, and makes the misdemeanour, if committed within any district proclaimed in pursuance of this act, cognizable by any court appointed as hereinafter mentioned; that is, by COURT-MARTIALS.

"Clause 2. authorises any two or more justices to demand, or if necessary, enforce, admission *into any house* or *place whatever*, where they shall have good reason to believe, from information on oath, that any prohibited meeting is held; authorises one of the said justices, or other person by his order, to read a notice to the persons, so assembled to disperse; and in case such persons shall not disperse within one quarter of an hour after the notice being so read, they shall be liable to be proceeded against in a *summary way*, before any two *justices of the peace*, who are hereby authorised to convict such offenders, either *on the view of one of the said convicting justices* or on the confession of such offender, or on the oath of one or more credible witnesses, and thereupon to commit them to gaol for three calendar

months; and for a second or any subsequent offence, for one whole year."

"Clause 3. compels a party charged to plead *forthwith*.

"Clause 4. authorises the Lord-Lieutenant, with the advice of the privy-council in Ireland, to issue his proclamation, declaring any county, or part of county, to require the application of the provisions of this act.

"Clause 5. makes it a necessary part of the proclamation to command the inhabitants of the district proclaimed, TO REMAIN WITHIN THEIR RESPECTIVE HABITATIONS AT ALL HOURS BETWEEN SUN-SET AND SUN-RISE.

"Clause 7. authorises, and commands after proclamation, all justices, peace-officers, and also ALL COMMISSIONED OFFICERS COMMANDING HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES IN IRELAND, to take the most *vigorous* and *effectual* measures for *suppressing* insurrectionary and OTHER disturbances, and to search for, arrest, and bring to *immediate* trial, all persons charged with offences under this act.

"Clause 9. forbids, *after proclamation*, any meeting to be held, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament, or discussing any alleged public grievances, or any matter in CHURCH or State, unless a written notice specifying the purpose of the intended meeting, and stating the day, hour, and place of meetings shall have been given ten days at least before, to the chief secretary; and UNLESS THE CONSENT OF THE LORD-LIEUTENANT IN WRITING SHALL BE OBTAINED.

"Clause 10., for trial under this act, authorises the Lord-Lieutenant to appoint commissioned officers serving in the army in Ireland; provided that the officers appointed shall have attained the age of TWENTY-ONE YEARS, and shall have served his Majesty not less than two years as commissioned officers.

"Clause 11. constitutes any number of the officers so appointed, not less than five, nor exceeding nine, a COURT-MARTIAL; for the trial



“and punishment of offences under this act; and authorises *summary trial*, judgment and sentence to be passed by such COURT-MARTIAL as might have been done by any court of Oyer and Terminer.

“ Clause 12. commands the appointment of *one of his Majesty's counsel* to act at every such COURT-MARTIAL as *Judge Advocate*.

“ Clause 14. makes the decisions of the majority of such COURT-MARTIAL the decision of the Court.

“ Clause 16. authorises such COURT-MARTIAL to summon evidence, to compel attendance, and *in case of refusal to give evidence, to commit the person refusing to custody, for three months at the most*.

“ Clause 17. enacts that any person charged under any of the several acts which it enumerates, for preventing ‘tumultuous assemblies,’ ‘riots,’ ‘combinations,’ ‘the administering of unlawful oaths,’ the injury of ‘magistrates and witnesses in criminal cases,’ and for *restraining ‘party processions,’* and also every person charged under this act shall be tried by COURT-MARTIAL; and this whether the offence shall or shall not have been committed, *BEFORE THE ISSUING OF ANY PROCLAMATION UNDER THIS ACT*. This enactment is to extend to CAPITAL OFFENCES, provided that it be *by the special directions of the Lord-Lieutenant*; but the COURT-MARTIAL being so directed, may try such offence, and sentence to *TRANSPORTATION FOR LIFE*.

“ Clause 18. makes guilty of a misdemeanour any person who shall be out of his house any time between one hour after sun-set and sun-rise, unless he *can make it appear* that he was out of his house on his lawful vocations.

“ Clause 19. makes it lawful for any *justice of the peace, or any person, with the warrant of a justice of the peace*, provided such person be accompanied by a commissioned officer, or a chief constable of police, at any time *from one hour after sun-set to*

*sun-rise, to demand, and, on refusal, to force, admission, into any house, from which he shall SUSPECT the inhabitants to be absent, and to search for the inhabitants and for arms concealed.*

“ Clause 20. renders the inhabitants of such house liable to trial by COURT-MARTIAL, conviction and punishment, if any ‘offensive weapons’ be found in the house so entered, after they shall have been called upon to deliver up the same, unless they can *make it appear* that such weapons were there *without their knowledge*.

“ Clause 21. gives the COURT-MARTIALS the power of trying and punishing with twelve-months’ imprisonment the offence of uttering *SEDITIONOUS* hand-bills or pamphlets.

“ Clause 22. provides for the security of witnesses by enacting, among other things, that any person who shall by menace or OTHERWISE, *deter* a witness from discharging his duty, shall be sentenced by court-martial to be transported for any term not less than seven nor more than fourteen years.

“ Clause 23. enacts that no act done in any proclaimed district, shall be questioned in any court of the United Kingdom; but that the officers and soldiers acting under this act shall be liable to be tried by COURT-MARTIAL for any offence against the articles of war.

“ Clause 24. authorises persons who shall be arrested under this act, to be held in custody in any part of Ireland; and clause 27 authorises them to be so held for three months without the benefit of the *Habeas Corpus Act*.

“ Clauses 31. 32. and 33. provide that if any action be commenced for any thing done *in pursuance of this act*, in any part of Ireland not in a proclaimed district; and if a verdict shall be given for the plaintiff; and if the judge shall certify that there was a probable cause for doing the act complained of, then the plaintiff shall not be entitled to *MORE THAN*

"SIXPENCE DAMAGES, NOR TO ANY COSTS OF SUIT.

"Clause 36. enacts that nothing in this act shall be construed to ABRIDGE 'the acknowledged prerogative of his Majesty to resort to the exercise of martial-law against open ENEMIES or TRAITORS, or any powers of law vested in the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, or of any other person or persons whomsoever, to suppress insurrection and disturbance, or treason and rebellion.'"

Upon these provisions I shall offer no opinion at present; and probably it will never be necessary for me to do it in this manner. My readers of England and Scotland will be able to form their own judgment of the matter; but, in order to form a *just* judgment, let every man in England and Scotland make the case his own. Let him suppose such an act passed for England and Scotland; let him consider what his own situation then would be; and then let him say, after having consulted his pillow and his conscience upon the subject, whether such an act ought to be passed with regard to Ireland. Let him bear in mind, too, that this act, if passed, will be passed for the purpose of *enforcing the payment of tithes*, which, we were told last year, were to be *extinguished* in Ireland. This is denied by the partisans of the measure; that is to say, it is denied that this bill is to enforce the payment of tithes. It is said, that it is to put down *midnight robbers and assassins*. Why, then, prevent public meetings in the open day to petition? Why try *libellers* by a court-martial? These are not midnight robbers and assassins. Every castigation of any sort is called assassination now: routing a tithe-proctor, or sending a parson a threatening letter, is called *assassination*! This is the exaggerating style of the French. "*Ah! Jésus Christ! On m'assassine! On m'assassine!*" cried an old bawd, whom I saw the constable tickling at a whipping-post at *Havre de*

*Grace*. It is all assassination; all to put down assassination; when the fact clearly is, that the measure is intended to cause the payment of tithes. I do not say, that there are no midnight murders and robberies, but I say, that they all spring out of the existence of the Protestant hierarchy; and so I have always said, ever since I understood the subject. While the Catholic Emancipation Bill was under discussion, and while WELLINGTON and PEEL were asserting that it would render the Protestant hierarchy more secure than it then was, I kept telling them that they must remove that hierarchy, or that Ireland would be plunged into rebellion by the Emancipation Bill. Not content with telling them of this in the *Register*, I presented a petition to the House of Commons, in April, 1829, by the hands of Mr. DENISON, member for the county of Surrey, praying for a total abolition of the Protestant church in Ireland, and fully stating the reasons for that prayer. This petition I now insert below. I beg that it may be read attentively, and particularly the last two paragraphs of it; and then the reader will see, that, if my advice had been followed, there would not now have been any necessity for court-martials to try people in Ireland. Late as it now is, the country may be now saved by following the advice which I then gave. What are to be the effects of the contrary course, God only knows, and to his decrees we must submit. We are at best but shortsighted creatures: that which we most anxiously wish for, time convinces us would have been for our harm. Perhaps, in order that our final deliverance may be effected, great and terrible present inflictions may be necessary. But we must take things as we find them; we must act according to present appearances; and must not do wrong, nor assent to the doing of wrong, on the chance of ultimate good being the consequence. This petition is long; but it is of vast importance at this moment: it tells the sad tale of Ireland; and it points out the only remedy that can possibly put a stop to the present evils.



To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of William Cobbett,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioner prays your honourable House, that the Protestant Church of Ireland, as by law established, may be, by law, repealed and utterly abrogated and abolished; and that this prayer he founds on the facts which he, with the greatest respect, will now proceed to submit to your honourable House.

That, until the year 1547, the Catholic religion was the only religion known in Ireland: that, after the Protestant religion was introduced into England, it was by law made to be the religion taught in the churches in Ireland; that a Protestant clergy was made to supplant the clergy of the ancient religion; that the latter were turned out of the livings and the churches; that the altars were pulled down and the mass abolished, and the Protestant Table and Common Prayer forcibly introduced in their stead.

That the people of Ireland saw with great indignation this attempt to force upon them a new and strange religion, and to compel them to abandon and become apostates to that religion in which they had been born and bred, that religion which had been the religion of their fathers for many centuries, and the truth, purity, and wisdom of which were so clearly proved by its happy effects.

That, therefore, the people rejected this new religion, of the origin of which, or of the authority by which it was imposed on them, they had, and could have, no idea; but that the Government of England persisted in compelling the Irish to submit to an abandonment of the ancient and to an adoption of the new religion.

That, in order to effect this purpose, clergymen to officiate in the churches of Ireland were sent from England, and that to these the tithes and other church-revenues were all transferred, leaving the Catholic clergy to beg or

starve; but that, such was the abhorrence which the Irish people entertained at the thought of apostatizing from their religion, that they shunned as they would have shunned deposits of deadly pestilence those churches, to which they had before resorted with punctuality and zeal surpassed by the people of no nation on the earth; and that, still clinging to their faithful pastors, they secretly sought in houses, in barns, in woods, in caves, amongst rocks, or in fastnesses of some sort, the comforts of that communion to which they no longer dared to resort in open day.

The Government, irritated at this contumacy, as it was called, but fidelity, as it ought to have been called, resorted to means the most tyrannical, the most cruel, and even the most ferocious, in order to subdue this pious fidelity; that it inflicted fine, imprisonment, torture, or death, and sometimes two or three of these all upon the same person; that it confiscated not only innumerable estates belonging to Catholics, but whole counties at once, on the plea that this was necessary in order to plant the Protestant religion; that the lands thus confiscated were given to Protestants; and that, in reality, the former owners were extirpated, or made little better than slaves to the intruders.

That, however, in spite of acts of tyranny, at the thought of which Nero and Caligula would have startled with horror, which acts continued to be enforced with unabated rigour for more than 200 years; that in spite of these acts of fining, confiscating, plundering, rack-ing, and killing, all having in view one single object, that of compelling the people to conform to the church as by law established; that in spite of all these atrocious acts, these matchless barbarities of two hundred years, the people of Ireland, though their country was frequently almost literally strewed with mangled bodies, and made red with blood, adhered with unshaken fidelity to the religion of their and of our fathers; that in spite of death continually looking them in the face; in spite of prisons, racks, halters, axes, and

the bowel-ripping knife; in spite of all these, their faithful priests have never deserted them; and that the priests now in Ireland are the successors of thousands of heroic martyrs, many of whom were actually ripped up and cut into quarters.

That, nevertheless, the new church, by law established, got safely into her possession all the property that had belonged to the ancient church; and that she took all the tithes, all the parsonage-houses, all the glebes, all the landed estates, which in Ireland are of immense extent and value; so that Ireland, for nearly three hundred years, continued to exhibit, and still exhibits, the strange sight of an enormously rich established church nearly without flocks, and on the other hand, an almost mendicant priesthood with flocks comprising the main part of the people; it exhibits a religious system, which takes the use of the churches from the millions, and gives it to the thousands; that takes churches from that religion by the followers of which they were founded and endowed, and gives them to that religion the followers of which protest against the faith of the founders and endowers, and brand their religion as idolatrous and damnable.

That your petitioner can form an idea of no being short of a fiend, in point of malignity and cruelty, capable of viewing such a scene without feelings of horror; and, therefore he is confident, that your honourable House, still, as he hopes, animated with the benevolent spirit which led to the recent enactment in favour of the persecuted Catholics, will hasten to put an end to a scene so disgraceful, and to injustice so flagrantly outrageous.

That it must be manifest to every one, that there could be, for giving the vast revenues of the church of Ireland to a Protestant clergy, no ground other than that those revenues might be applied in such manner as to cause the main body of the people to become and remain Protestants, and that, too, of the communion established by law: that those revenues, on the most moderate

estimate, amount to three millions of pounds sterling a year; that several of the Irish bishops have, of late years, left, at their death, personal property exceeding, for each, two hundred thousand pounds; that the deaneries and prebends, and other benefices in the church of Ireland, as by law established, are of great value; and that your humble petitioner is sure that your honourable House will not deem him presumptuous, if he take it for granted, that your honourable House will allow, that it is impossible that any Government in its senses, that any but tyrants, and mad tyrants, too, would have given these immense revenues to the Protestant clergy, unless with a view, and in the confident expectation, of seeing the people, or a large part of them at any rate, converted to the Protestant faith, and joining in the Protestant communion; for, that, otherwise, it must have been evident, that those immense revenues could only serve to create division, and to perpetuate all the passions hostile to the peace and prosperity of a country.

That, however, at the end of two hundred and seventy-six years, there are, in Ireland, even a less number of church Protestants than, as your humble petitioner finds good historical reason for believing there were a hundred and eighty years ago; and that it is a fact generally admitted, that the church Protestants in that country have long been, and still are, decreasing in number, compared with that of the Catholics, and also compared with that of those Protestant sects who stand aloof from her Common Prayer and Communion; that it is an undoubted fact, that, in many parishes, there are scarcely any Protestants at all; that in some parishes there is not one; that throughout the whole country, there is not, on an average, more than one church Protestant to every six Catholics or Dissenters; and that, while the Catholics are shut out of the churches founded and endowed by their forefathers of the same faith, and while these churches are empty, or at best echo to the solitary voice of the stipendiary agent of



the opulent and luxurious non-residing incumbent, the Catholics are compelled either to abandon the public practice of their worship, to build chapels at their own expense, or, which they are frequently compelled to do, kneel down on the ground and in the open air.

That, if your honourable House will hardly be able to refrain from expressing deep indignation at the thought of a scene like this (existing, apparently, with your approbation), it would be presumption, indeed, in your humble petitioner, to attempt to estimate the feelings with which you must contemplate the present state of the Irish church, as by law established, and the present application of its prodigious revenues.

That there are in Ireland 3,403 parishes; that these are moulded into 515 livings, and that therefore each parson has on an average the tithes and glebes of more than nine parishes; that this is not the worst, however, for that many of the livings are united, and that the whole 3,403 parishes are divided amongst less than 350 parsons; that of the 3,403 parishes there are only 139 that have parsonage-houses, so that there is now remaining only one parsonage-house to every 24 parishes, and only 465 that have any churches, or one church to seven parishes; and that even in these, residence of the incumbent, or even a curate, seldom takes place for any length of time; that the church, as by law established, would seem to be merely the means of making out of the public resources, provision for certain families and persons; that of the four archbishops and eighteen bishops of the Irish church, as by law established, there are, as your petitioner believes, fourteen who are, by blood or marriage, related to peers; that a similar principle appears to your humble petitioner to prevail in the filling of the other dignities and the livings; and that therefore the Irish church, as by law established, really does seem to your humble petitioner to exist for no purpose other than that of furnishing the Government with the means of bestowing largesses on the aristocracy.

That though this must, as your petitioner presumes your honourable House will believe, be a great evil, it is attended with evils still greater than itself; that to expect, in such a state of things, a willing payment of tithes and clerical dues, would be next to a trait of madness; that the tithes are often collected by the aid of a military force, and that bloodshed is not unfrequently a circumstance in the enterprise; that it is manifest that, if there were no military force kept up, there could be no tithes collected; and that, therefore, to the evil of the present application of the Irish church revenues, is to be added the cost and all the other evils arising from the keeping up of a great standing army in Ireland; that, besides this army, there is kept on foot an armed, and so netimes, mounted police establishment, costing an immense sum annually; that it is clear that neither army nor police would be wanted in Ireland, were it not for the existence of the church establishment, which the Catholics and Dissenters, who form six parts of seven of the people, must naturally, and notoriously do, detest and abhor; that therefore, while the Irish church, as by law established, appears to your humble petitioner to be kept up as a source for supplying Government with the means of bestowing largesses on the aristocracy, the army and police appear to him to be required solely for the purpose of giving efficiency and permanence to that supply.

That, hence arise, as your humble petitioner firmly believes, all the discontents, all the troubles, all the poverty, nakedness, hunger, all the human degradation in Ireland; and this belief he founds upon facts which are undeniable.

That, when the Reformation laid its merciless hand on Ireland, that country, blessed with a soil and climate as good as any in the world, had 649 monasteries and other foundations of that nature; that it had a church in every parish, instead of having, as now, one church, on an average, to seven parishes; that it had then a priest in every parish, who relieved the poor

and repaired the church out of the tithes; that it had, in the monasteries and in the bishops' palaces, so many points whence the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger, received relief; and that it had (greater than all the rest) *unity* of faith, glory to God with *one* voice, peace on earth, and good will towards men.

That, alas! your humble petitioner need not tell your honourable House, that these have all, yea all, been swept away by the means made use of to introduce, establish, and uphold the Protestant hierarchy; that these means are still in practice, and are, in productiveness of turmoil and misery, as active and efficient as ever; and that, as long as this hierarchy shall continue to exist, these same means must, your petitioner is convinced, be employed constantly and with unabated vigour.

That, therefore, your humble petitioner prays that your honourable House, proceeding upon the clear precedents set by former Parliaments, will be pleased to pass a law to repeal, abrogate, abolish, and render utterly frustrate and of no effect, the Protestant church now established by law in Ireland; that you will be pleased to cause a just distribution, in future, of the tithes and other revenues now received by that church; that in this distribution, you will be pleased to cause to be made effectual provision for the relief of the poor; and that you will be pleased to adopt, relative to the premises, such other measures as, in your wisdom, you shall deem to be meet.

And your petitioner will ever pray,  
April 20, 1829. WM. COBBETT.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I HAVE before noticed that I will receive no *twopenny post letters* not postage paid; and I repeat the notice here. Nothing is so easy as to drop a piece of paper into a post-shop. Nothing is so easy as to tax a man in this way; but this is a tax that I will not pay; and it is a tax that I take special care never to

impose upon anybody. I beg my friends in the country not to trouble themselves to write to me letters of thanks for my exertions. I know that I have their thanks: I know, that their gratitude always exceeds the good that is done for them, or attempted to be done for them. If persons have any interesting facts to communicate, that are likely to be useful to me in the performance of my duty, that is another matter. I have received several petitions; but I shall not now present any until Wednesday next, when the *petition-senate* is to hold their first sittings. This PETITION-SENATE will be an entirely new thing. Several correspondents ask me, if I think the house and window-tax will be taken off. I see no disposition to do any such a thing; but it is impossible to say how far the hearts of the Ministers may be softened by the prayers and supplications of the people.

### BURDETT'S HOMILIES.

CIRCUMSTANCES, which I need not here particularly mention, render these "HOMILIES" very valuable just at this time. I have a great many of them safely down in print; and I shall republish them for the benefit of the young men of this age, many of whom were not born when the homily-writer put forth these pious effusions of his political zeal.

"*Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex. — Nov. 1806.*"

"Whenever the leaders of contending parties and factions in a state unite, the history of the world bears evidence, that it never is in favour, but always at the expense of the people; whose renewed and augmented pillage pays the scandalous price of the reconciliation. Under these circumstances you are called, prematurely and suddenly, to a fresh election of your representatives, if they can be called such. And a double imposture



"is attempted to be passed upon you.  
 "The watch-word of one party is, 'The  
 "best of kings.' The watch-word of  
 "the other is, 'The best of patriots.'  
 "But neither of these parties will choose  
 "to descend to particulars, and inform  
 "you what the best of kings and the  
 "best of patriots have already done, or  
 "will hereafter do for you. What they  
 "have done for themselves we all  
 "know and feel; what farther they can  
 "do for us we can only conjecture.  
 "They who have desired a new Parlia-  
 "ment thus suddenly, in our present si-  
 "tuation, undoubtedly have their own  
 "strong reasons for it, which they are  
 "not likely to disclose. But I am  
 "thoroughly persuaded, that all our  
 "present burdens and restraints, vexa-  
 "tious and galling as they are, will ap-  
 "pear but as trifles when compared  
 "with what they will be at the close of  
 "this now-coming Parliament. I would  
 "willingly be instrumental in the  
 "rescue of my country at the certain  
 "expense of life and fortune; but it  
 "cannot be rescued, and would not de-  
 "serve to be rescued, unless the ma-  
 "jority of the country be uncorrupt. It  
 "is fit that the experiment should be  
 "tried; and that at least the propor-  
 "tion of remaining integrity should be  
 "known. And I pledge my honour to  
 "you, gentlemen, that, upon the present  
 "occasion, I do not desire the aid or  
 "countenance of any of the parties, in  
 "or out of power; that I will not dis-  
 "tribute, nor consent to the distribution  
 "even of a single cockade; nor will I  
 "furnish, nor consent to the furnishing  
 "of a single carriage. If the free-  
 "holders of Middlesex feel the situation  
 "of their country, and desire to redress  
 "its grievances, they will do their easy  
 "parts towards such redress, by an un-  
 "corrupt vote. And if this spirit is not  
 "to be found in this country at this  
 "time, it is not likely to be found any-  
 "where else at any time. Let the free-  
 "holders of Middlesex do their easy  
 "duty, I will do mine, which will not  
 "be easy; and, if it shall be their un-  
 "biassed choice, I will prove my-  
 "self their uncorrupt, disinterested,  
 "and zealous representative.—I am,

"gentlemen, with full assurance of  
 "your integrity and spirit, your most  
 "faithful humble servant,

"FRANCIS BURDETT."

"*Sir Francis Burdett's Letter to the*  
 "*Freeholders Club of Middlesex.—*  
 "*Nov. 1806.*

"Gentlemen,—At length Mr. Byng,  
 "who never was really with us, has  
 "ceased to temporize; and, taking  
 "advantage of your undeserved com-  
 "pliment to him, has declared openly  
 "against us. It was always to be  
 "expected, that such would be his  
 "conduct, whenever it should suit the  
 "views of his party. This, gentlemen,  
 "is the short statement of our situation.  
 "The politics of George Grenville, the  
 "father, lost us America; the politics  
 "of George Grenville, the son, have  
 "lost us all Europe. To these politics,  
 "and to assist in carrying them on, the  
 "professing Whigs have lately joined  
 "themselves, to their own great emo-  
 "lument, and the just dismay of the  
 "public. In this conjecture, it is not  
 "surprising that Mr. Byng, who be-  
 "longs to those Whigs, should play  
 "into the hands of Mr. Mellish, who  
 "belongs to that Grenville whom they  
 "have joined. I am perfectly aware,  
 "that if I had been silent, I might have  
 "been returned for Middlesex without  
 "a contest; but I will have no com-  
 "promise, nor suspected compromise,  
 "with such shabby politics. I will not  
 "by silence be guilty of the ruin which  
 "appears to be fast approaching. Gen-  
 "tlemen, I will never consent to be re-  
 "turned by the connivance of any mi-  
 "nisters: for I will never connive at  
 "their plunder, I desire no seat but by  
 "the unbiassed votes of intelligent and  
 "uncorrupt freeholders. If my princi-  
 "ples differ from theirs, I am not fit  
 "to be their representative, and shall  
 "not desire it; but I shall wait for  
 "their decision, regardless of the in-  
 "trigues, misrepresentation, and influ-  
 "ence of the coalesced factions. I shall  
 "ever remain, gentlemen, faithful to  
 "the principles I avow, and to your  
 "honest service.

"FRANCIS BURDETT."

*" Sir Francis Burdett's Speech at  
" Brentford.—Nov. 1806.*

" Gentlemen, Freeholders of the  
" county of Middlesex, I shall state to  
" you, as shortly as I can upon this oc-  
" casion, and with the same plainness  
" and sincerity upon every occasion, as  
" I think myself bound to do when  
" called upon by the public, my senti-  
" ments with regard to the state of po-  
" litics and party in this country. Mr.  
" Byng has told you that he offers him-  
" self to your notice on those principles  
" which first recommended him to it.  
" It would have been well if Mr. Byng  
" had stated to you what those princi-  
" ples were. (Great applause). Where  
" are we to look for them? Who knows  
" what are the principles of Mr. Byng?  
" Do any of you? (No, no, no). Gen-  
" tlemen, I am neither surprised nor  
" displeased at the conduct of Mr. Byng  
" on this day, but quite the contrary. It  
" is not inconsistent with the conduct  
" he has all along professed. You  
" know that Mr. Byng is a SUMMER IN-  
" SECT, and LOVES THE SUN. (A general  
" burst of applause). But I must al-  
" low that if Mr. Byng has not stated  
" his principles on this, any more than  
" on any former occasion, he has stated  
" his pretensions to your support with a  
" degree of modesty which I suppose  
" you will hardly think entitles him to  
" it. For he calls for your support—  
" on what grounds? That you have  
" returned him three times to Parlia-  
" ment, and that he never voted against  
" you. What! are members ever re-  
" turned to Parliament to vote against  
" their constituents? Have we arrived  
" at such a pitch of debasement, that  
" for a man not to have betrayed his  
" constituents, is to be put forth as a  
" claim to the approbation of the county  
" of Middlesex? It would be easy to  
" show, that, if Mr. Byng has not in-  
" curred the sin of *commission*, he has  
" at least incurred the sin of *omission*,  
" which is perhaps not less prejudicial  
" to the public than the other. Where  
" was Mr. Byng when the question was  
" brought forward relative to the abuses  
" in the Cold-bath-fields prison? Does  
" that or not interest the electors of the

county of Middlesex? Are they not  
" at the expense of maintaining it?  
" Have they not suffered, and do they  
" not still suffer, for the infamous prac-  
" tices which, to the eternal disgrace of  
" the county, were and are permitted  
" to take place within its dreary walls?  
" (It was never proved, it's a stale  
" story). Freeholders, a gentleman  
" among the crowd says that the old  
" stale story of the Bastille is going  
" forward; I am sorry it is; I have  
" endeavoured to prevent it, but Mr.  
" Byng has not. (Plaudits). Now,  
" gentlemen, permit me to ask you  
" whether this great and principal claim  
" to the confidence of the county of  
" Middlesex has not been recently put  
" forward by one of the courtly band to  
" which Mr. Byng belongs? I ask you  
" whether it has not been stated by Mr.  
" Sheridan, as the ground of that sup-  
" port he expects from the electors of  
" Westminster, *that he alone stood for-  
" ward and supported me upon the  
" question of the Cold-bath-fields pri-  
" son?* Can these gentlemen, who at-  
" tempt to interrupt me, think to bear  
" me down by saying that no abuses  
" existed, that they do not now exist,  
" and that I have merely sought, by  
" raising a clamour and exciting the  
" popular feeling, to bring myself in  
" for the county of Middlesex? It is,  
" gentlemen, now plain and apparent,  
" and happy I am to have this opportu-  
" nity of proving what I at first asserted.  
" (It is untrue, exclaimed a person upon  
" the hustings). The gentleman behind  
" me denies the truth, even before he  
" has heard it. I was going to state,  
" that you have had in my present con-  
" duct a convincing proof, that if my  
" object had been personal—if I had  
" merely been ambitious of the honour  
" of becoming the representative of the  
" county of Middlesex, I might easily  
" have been so—nay, that I might have  
" been brought in without any opposi-  
" tion. (No, no! you could not, said se-  
" veral). It has been stated as the opi-  
" nion of Mr. Byng, that I have per-  
" formed the greatest possible service  
" for Mr. Mellish. If I have, I declare  
" solemnly I have no objection to it.



Gentlemen, let the consequence be what it may, neither a seat in Parliament for the county of Middlesex, nor anything else in the power of Government to bestow, shall ever make me desert those principles which I am thoroughly convinced must ultimately prove the sole means of the salvation of the country. (Loud plaudits were re-echoed on all sides). Freeholders of the county, I have besides another confirmation of what some of the gentlemen around me think proper to deny. I have the official declaration, for so I must call the letter of Mr. Whitbread, the brother-in-law of Lord Howick, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, a man whom I think I may now venture to denominate the head of that band of patriots to which Mr. Byng belongs, I have it from him, that he had no doubt I should be brought in for the county. But, gentlemen, I thought it my duty to disdain ministerial support; I still think it so, and I do not repent my determination, for I look to no other object but to speak the truth, whenever the public interest calls upon me. (Incessant plaudits). Gentlemen, the letter of Mr. Whitbread, I confess I at first thought a handsome mode of proceeding towards me, and I wrote to him to thank him for justifying his conduct in declining to support my cause. I was obliged to him, because I felt that, if he did not approve of my principles, I did not want his support, nor would I have accepted it. (Bravo! bravo!). Now, gentlemen, since I have seen that letter, which I considered a personal justification to me, published to the world, I must look at it in a very different point of view; I consider it as the official declaration of the late patriot, but present Minister, against me, and I regret to say, I think it altogether unworthy of the quarter from whence it came. But I trust, I shall, when I have somewhat more leisure, state at large my opinion of that extraordinary publication, and of all the matters it contains. I flatter myself I shall expose its sophistry,

and prove, even to demonstration, that it is as utterly destitute of historical truth as it is of constitutional principles. (Loud and unanimous applause). Gentlemen, Mr. Whitbread tells us that the administration, of which he is so conspicuous a supporter, have not yet formed their projected schemes of reform, internal and external. Thus it appears they have schemes in agitation. Now, what is the absurd outcry raised against me? That I am a schemer; that I have schemes which I wish to execute. Believe me, gentlemen, and it is the sacred assurance of an honest, independent, and, I trust, virtuous man, I have no schemes; I meditate no innovation; I want nothing but the constitution of England, my beloved country; I want the whole of that constitution, and nothing but that constitution. (Universal plaudits). We have the good fortune to live in a country, which is pre-eminent over the rest of the world. That we have so invaluable an inheritance is to be attributed to our having a constitution traced out originally for ourselves. To preserve it inviolable, we have only to take care not to abandon it on the principles which form its basis. But I maintain, that our boasted constitution is an incongruity if the people have not their fair representation in Parliament. (Acclamations, and shouts of approbation). It is asked, what do I complain of in the conduct of the coalesced parties? Would I have no minister? Is the office of a minister a disqualification which precludes his representing an uncorrupt people? Gentlemen, I have said no such thing. But I do object to a minister representing a free and independent city or county. The question is not whether Ministers should be in Parliament, but whether the Parliament should be composed entirely of court pensioners and placemen? If these men will accept of places and offices under the crown, let them not show themselves upon those hustings, from whence the people look to be represented by men as independent as

" themselves. (Bursts of applause). Let  
 " them go to court boroughs; let them  
 " not throw every other man out of  
 " some share of that representation  
 " which still remains uncorrupt. Gen-  
 " tlemen, there is another objection to  
 " this coalition administration. They  
 " say, they have not yet matured their  
 " schemes. True; but though they  
 " have done nothing for the public,  
 " they have done something for them-  
 " selves. They have matured their own  
 " pensions, ministerial offices, and sine-  
 " cure places. (Excessive plaudits). They  
 " have matured all their objects of  
 " party; but they say they have not  
 " matured anything for the public. I  
 " will tell you one thing they have done  
 " —they have assigned a magnificent  
 " palace at the end of Catherine-street  
 " to the manager of Drury-lane theatre;  
 " they have given him no small share of  
 " the public money, and for what ser-  
 " vices the devil only knows. (A mix-  
 " ture of excessive laughter and ap-  
 " plause). Gentlemen, in the short  
 " period of time since this band of pa-  
 " triots have coalesced, they have re-  
 " duced the country, internally and ex-  
 " ternally, to a more perilous situation  
 " even than they found it. Yet they  
 " have the barefaced impudence to tell  
 " you that they have not matured their  
 " schemes. What do I complain of?  
 " They allow they have performed no  
 " services; but they have taken the re-  
 " ward of services. (Hear, hear, hear,  
 " general acclamations). I say that  
 " they should not take the reward, un-  
 " less the service goes hand-in-hand  
 " with it. (True, exclaimed many  
 " voices). These, gentlemen, are my  
 " principles. They are applicable to  
 " all governments, for the same abuses  
 " must be inimical to every govern-  
 " ment, let their forms be what they  
 " may. These, of whom I am been  
 " speaking, are the best friends any of  
 " our enemies can have; for if they  
 " wantonly dissipate the resources of  
 " the country, how are those resources to  
 " be found when they are wanted for its  
 " defence? (Incessant applause). Gen-  
 " tlemen, I observe that Mr. Whit-  
 " bread, in his manifesto, has not fol-

" lowed the same principles and motives  
 " in his public capacity which actuate his  
 " private conduct. I find nothing of the  
 " kind in his letter to me. What does he  
 " do in his private concerns? He never  
 " pays his men till they have performed  
 " their labour. He sees the beer they  
 " brew before he gives them the reward  
 " for brewing it. I believe he rewards  
 " them liberally, but never till they  
 " have done their duty. With respect  
 " to Mr. Byng and his principles I can  
 " say nothing, because it is a secret to  
 " me what they are. If I could find  
 " them out and they appeared to me to  
 " be likely to be of the least benefit to  
 " the public, I should be the first man to  
 " withdraw and give Mr. Byng my  
 " vote. (You have not got a vote, ex-  
 " claimed Mr. Byng). Mr. Byng does  
 " not believe I have got a vote—he is  
 " mistaken—he would find I have one.  
 " Now, gentlemen, what is it that has  
 " called down on my head the coalesced  
 " powers of the coalescing parties?  
 " What is it but my doing my duty to  
 " you, and not conniving at what I con-  
 " sider their mal-practices? (Loud  
 " plaudits). Gentlemen, I never will  
 " connive at them. I care not for a seat  
 " in Parliament if it is so to be obtained.  
 " Gentlemen, when I am before the  
 " public I will do my duty, but I will  
 " have no connivance with Ministers. I  
 " will never consent to share in their  
 " guilt, or in their plunder. (Long and  
 " repeated applause followed the speech,  
 " in which applause no small part of Mr.  
 " Mellish's friends joined; and they  
 " clearly appeared to prefer Sir Francis  
 " Burdett to Mr Byng").

" *Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the*  
 " *Freeholders of Middlesex, after the*  
 " *Close of the Election, on the 27.*  
 " *Nov., 1806.*

" Gentlemen,—The moment before  
 " the commencement of the late elec-  
 " tion for Middlesex, Mr. WHITBREAD,  
 " in a manner most unbecoming his sta-  
 " tion, connexions, and character, in-  
 " serted in the public newspapers the  
 " following passage, signed with his  
 " name; addressed indeed nominally,



"with dissembled respect to me; but  
 "intended as a political electioneering  
 "manœuvre against you:—" I do not  
 "perceive in your present address  
 " (says Mr. Whitbread) any allusion  
 "to an opinion promulgated by you  
 "on the late election for Westminster,  
 "which is, *that a person holding an*  
 "*office under the Crown, however*  
 "*otherwise estimable, cannot at any*  
 "*time become the fit representative of*  
 "*a free, uncorrupt, and independent*  
 "*people.*" If such opinion be  
 "founded in truth, which (continues  
 "Mr. Whitbread) I utterly deny, a  
 "law ought to be passed to exclude  
 "all the executive servants of Govern-  
 "ment from seats in either House of  
 "Parliament. I have not heard that  
 "it was in the contemplation of any  
 "one to propose such a measure;  
 "and, if proposed, I am sure it would  
 "meet with resistance from all de-  
 "scriptions of persons, who have the  
 "power or the will to reason upon its  
 "consequences. The people, by the  
 "acceptance of your doctrine, would  
 "reduce themselves to the hard  
 "necessity of being governed by the  
 "worst of mankind."—These, Mr.  
 "Whitbread's sentiments, have like-  
 "wise been recently paraded by Mr.  
 "Windham, Secretary of State; by Mr.  
 "Tierney, Chairman of the Board of  
 "Control; by Mr. Sheridan, Treasurer  
 "of the Navy; and are now held, I pre-  
 "sume, as the political creed of the  
 "whole party.—Gentlemen, in that act  
 "of Parliament (12 and 13 Will. 3.)  
 "which gave the throne of these king-  
 "doms to his present Majesty, and his  
 "family, entitled—" An act for the  
 "further limitation of the crown, and  
 "better securing the rights and liber-  
 "ties of the subject,"—it was wisely  
 "and honestly thus enacted—" That no  
 "person who has an office or place of  
 "profit under the King, or receives a  
 "pension from the Crown, shall be  
 "capable of serving as a member of  
 "the House of Commons."—But Mr.  
 "Whitbread, it seems, never heard of  
 "this provision—" for better securing  
 "the rights and liberties of the sub-  
 "ject." And because, after a melan-

"choly experience of the necessity of  
 "such a provision, which our honest  
 "ancestors only foresaw, I maintain the  
 "opinion of those from whom his Ma-  
 "jesty holds his crown, I am represent-  
 "ed, by these best of patriots, as an  
 "enemy to the constitution, and by  
 "some of their place-holding and place-  
 "hunting party, as a traitor to my  
 "country. The worst of traitors to  
 "their country are those who eat up its  
 "resources. Mr. Whitbread's judg-  
 "ment upon us who hold this opinion,  
 "is indeed something milder; he only  
 "concludes us to be either fools or  
 "rogues,—*"either we have not the*  
 "*power or the will to reason upon its*  
 "*consequences."*—I have reason to  
 "believe that Mr. Whitbread himself  
 "possesses both the *will* and the *power*  
 "to obtain speedily a lucrative office  
 "under the crown, without much em-  
 "barrassing himself with the conse-  
 "quences to the public.—Gentlemen,  
 "when the last additional taxes for  
 "the present year were lately imposed  
 "upon the people by these best of pa-  
 "triot, it was undisguisedly and tran-  
 "quilly acknowledged by them, with-  
 "out the least compunction, or com-  
 "miseration of the people, that the  
 "necessary effect of these taxes would  
 "be, to drive the inhabitants of a house  
 "into lodgings, and the lodgers of a  
 "first floor into the second. Here, in-  
 "deed they stopped; leaving us to  
 "complete the miserable picture of na-  
 "tional calamity: viz. that the lodgers  
 "of the second floor must mount up  
 "into the garret, the garretier descend  
 "into the cellar; whose former wretch-  
 "ed inhabitant must be thrust out upon  
 "the pavement, and from thence trans-  
 "ferred to the workhouse or the grave.  
 "And this process is to be repeated  
 "*toties quoties*: so that the best pro-  
 "vided amongst us cannot tell where  
 "himself and his family may be found  
 "at last. This is a hard lesson for  
 "Englishmen to hear. It is harder  
 "still to hear it enforced from the  
 "mouths of those, who themselves are  
 "all the while creeping forward from  
 "their original garrets into palaces.  
 "Such an unfeeling insult as this would

"never have taken place but amidst  
 "placemen and pensioners. Had they  
 "been really the representatives of the  
 "people, they would have felt some-  
 "thing for the people; and, instead of  
 "incessantly calling for fresh sacrifices,  
 "and telling us gaily that we must  
 "retrench even part of our necessa-  
 "ries," they would surely now at last  
 "have held out to us some prospect of  
 "consolation and redress; they would  
 "no longer continue to gorge upon the  
 "vitals of their country, but would  
 "think themselves too well off, if they  
 "were not justly compelled to disgorge  
 "their past infamous swallowings.—  
 "Gentlemen, in becoming a candidate  
 "at the late election for your county, I  
 "do acknowledge, that I rather sought  
 "a public, than a seat in Parliament. I  
 "sought for, and have found, amongst  
 "you, freeholders who would vote for  
 "themselves, and not for any candidate  
 "—who would not give their votes as a  
 "favour conferred, but as a sacred trust  
 "reposed in an honest man, to enable  
 "him to stem the torrent against these  
 "venal coalition Whigs, who are, by  
 "their own avowal, hunting the peo-  
 "ple of this country from the second  
 "floor to the garret. That this system  
 "of corruption and oppression may  
 "cease, is the only ardent wish, and,  
 "in spite of every calumny, shall ever  
 "be the constant and unremitting en-  
 "deavour of, Gentlemen, your most  
 "obedient and respectful humble ser-  
 "vant,

"FRANCIS BURDETT."

#### IMPORTANT FROM CHARLESTON.

(From the Morning Chronicle, 21. February).

By the ship *Calhoun*, Captain Sutton, from Charleston, we have received papers from that city to the evening of the 23. instant.

At a meeting held at the Circus, on the 21., at which more than 3,000 persons were present, Charles C. Pinckney, lieutenant-governor, presided, and Alexander H. Brown, was secretary. Judge Colcock addressed the citizens in a

speech, as the *State Rights Evening Post* terms it, replete with warm and enthusiastic sentiments of patriotism, which was concluded by the reading of a string of resolutions, occupying a column and a half of that paper, in which the principles of the President's proclamation are denounced in the most unmeasured terms, and all the doctrines of nullification, to their fullest extent, are revived and enjoined.

From the account in the *Charleston Mercury* we copy the following:—

The Chairman was surrounded by veterans of the revolution, who exhibited throughout the proceedings an interest and animation unsurpassed by that of the most ardent youth present, and none could look upon the assembly, and hear the burning words of the speakers, and observe the eager sympathy with which they were met, and fail to be convinced that every heart there was beating warmly, and every arm nerved and ready against tyranny, come in what shape it may!

The resolutions proposed were seconded by General Hamilton, whose speech was frequently interrupted by bursts of enthusiastic applause. He approved decidedly of the resolution recommending that we should avoid all conflict with the Federal authorities, while the bill modifying the tariff was yet before Congress. We owed this to our friends out of the state. We could pause with honour. His conduct would be guided by the tone of the resolution proposed. He had himself made an importation, having made a shipment of rice to the Havannah, and ordered a return cargo of sugar. He would allow his importation to go into the custom-house stores, and wait events. He would not produce unnecessary collision; but, if our hopes of a satisfactory adjustment of the question were disappointed, he knew that his fellow-citizens would go even to the death with him for his sugar. (He was interrupted by an unanimous burst of accord). The last message of the President made it easy to forbear for the present, even with the most fastidious sense of honour. We are armed and in the trenches for



the support of liberty, and we coolly and fearlessly await the blow.

We never heard a more hearty shout of applause than when General Hamilton most felicitously adverted to the coincidence of the *Natchez* sloop of war, sent on by "the ruler of our destinies," having anchored in the very place where the *Tamar* sloop of war anchored in the revolution. (Rebellion Roads).

With regard to the President's call upon Congress to give him power to coerce South Carolina, General Hamilton said, that should Congress grant the authority, he should forthwith (as he was empowered to do as President) re-assemble the convention, and submit to them the question of secession, and none could doubt what their choice would be. If we were denied by the Government of the United States the right of peaceably seceding, we would triumph in asserting, it, or die in the attempt. This declaration was greeted with overwhelming acclamations.

Col. Preston followed in a speech, to the eloquence of which we cannot do justice in an abstract. He placed the inconsistency of Gen. Jackson in the most ridiculous light, and after exciting the utmost mirth at the expense of the ruler of our destinies, showed how mortifying it was to the state of the citizens of a state of this confederacy that the executive of the Union should so disgrace himself as Andrew Jackson has been induced to do by those who have practised on his imbecility.

He gave a vivid and true account of the enthusiasm of the interior; told how the violence of the proclamation had been thrown back, broken into mere froth from the rock of Carolina firmness; how even the women of our country laughed at the threats of the toothless tiger; but he warned us to watch the movements of the wild beast, now cowed by the glance of freemen, but who would spring upon his masters, could he catch them unawares. If Congress granted the modest request made in the last message for dictatorial power, why we could but fight it out. The whole interior were up in arms, and would pour in a torrent into Charleston

on the first aggression; and if the power were usurped by Congress, and given to a malignant tyrant to fight us down, they would not disgrace us. We would die honourably, if we did not conquer. South Carolina had already done enough for glory, in that she alone had stood up against the proclamation, and snatched the thunderbolt from the would-be Jove, and shaken it in his face; and that while Virginia had shrunk from maintaining the principles of 1798, and was willing to show "that she meant nothing under heaven," South Carolina had, like her own jasper, caught up the fallen banner of state rights, and spread it to the breeze.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, lieutenant-governor of the state, was called to the chair, and Alexander H. Brown, Esq. appointed secretary. The Chairman explained the object of the meeting; after which Judge Colcock made an address, replete with warm and enthusiastic sentiments of patriotism, and concluded by submitting the following resolutions:—

Whereas, a public manifesto, under the style and title of a "proclamation by the President of the United States," has been put forth as an authoritative exposition of the constitution of the United States, and the rights of the states in this Union; and whereas, this edict of the executive affirms and expounds, and threatens to enforce by sanction of military coercion, the following points of constitutional law, viz:—

That the declaration of independence was made by the people of the several colonies as one community, and not by independent states, each acting by virtue of his own sovereignty, by which one nation was created, and not a confederacy of sovereign states.

That no state can be said to be sovereign, whose citizens owe allegiance to laws not made by it.

That the judiciary in expounding, and the executive in executing the laws of the Union, are the only functionaries who of right possess the power of finally and authoritatively deciding on the constitutionality of these laws;

that this right does not belong to a state in the Union, but was virtually surrendered when "the united colonies" agreed to form a single nation.

That the "united colonies" having agreed with the other states to form a single nation, no state from that period possesses any right to accede. "To say that any state may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States are not a nation, and that secession, like any other revolutionary right, is only to be justified by the extremity of oppression."

That a state having no right to decide in the last resort, whether the compact has been preserved or violated, this right devolving exclusively on the department of the Federal Government, the executive has the power to enforce by military coercion what he believes to be constitutional law, although declared otherwise by a sovereign party to the compact.

Resolved, That this meeting view with equal astonishment and indignation the claims of power set forth in the foregoing summary, which is a correct exposition of the doctrines contained in the text of the aforesaid manifesto.

Resolved, That the alleged origin of the Government of this confederacy, as set forth in the said proclamation, is historically untrue. That by disingenuous verbal refinements, its authentic history has been perverted to the extraordinary purpose of erecting on the ruins of the sovereignty of the several states a great consolidated Government "without limitation of powers."

Resolved, That it is an unfounded reproach to the memories of the great and immortal spirits who declared our independence and formed the confederation of 1776, to say that a consolidated Government was created by them, and not a confederacy of free, sovereign, and independent states.

Resolved, That the allegation also made in the aforesaid proclamation, that by the constitution of the United States a similar consolidation of the Government is ratified, is equally without foundation, as is proved by the separate and distinct capacity in which the states

formed that instrument, assembled in its ratification, and reserved to themselves all rights not delegated to the general Government.

Resolved, That the separate sovereignty of the state is in no degree affected by their delegating a part of their powers, to be exercised through a joint agency, called the Government of the United States, whose laws are alone supreme and binding on the states when made in pursuance of the constitution. We therefore utterly deny the flimsy sophism, that a state is not sovereign because its citizens are bound to obey a constitutional law of the United States made in strict conformity with an express power, which in her sovereignty such state has clearly delegated.

Resolved, That the claim which the President of the United States has set up by his previous acts, and the context and tenour of the aforesaid proclamation, of being himself the final and exclusive judge of the constitutional validity of the laws, which he is called upon to execute, coupled with an avowed negation on his part of the right of a similar nature, appertaining to a sovereign party to the compact, not only puts "an inferior department of the Government, created by the compact above the sovereign parties to the compact itself," but stoops at nothing short of concentrating in the hands of a single functionary the whole power of a union.

Resolved, That we view with abhorrence the direct and immediate corollary flowing from the aforesaid premises in the aforesaid proclamation — To wit: That no state has a right peaceably to secede from this union.

Resolved, That we regard the ulterior right of secession as inseparable from the sovereign character of the parties to the compact, that no claim to perpetuity is set up in the instrument itself, not among the enumerated powers in any power given to the general Government to coerce a seceding state into the Union. And hence it ceases to be a subject of surprise, that in expounding a written instrument in which no such power is found, the President should have taken refuge in the poor resource



of all arbitrary Governments for the justification of this power—the stale and dangerous pretext of state necessity.

With these views and sentiments, we not only affirm the right of a state peaceably to secede from the Union, should any occasion unhappily arise to require the exercise of such a right, but are prepared to peril, if need be, our lives in the assertion of this claim, so essential to the civil and political liberty of the states.

Resolved, That if we are shocked at the principles of arbitrary power which are avowed in the aforesaid proclamation, we are equally mortified at the undignified vituperation and reproach in which the President has been pleased to indulge in the same against a sovereign state in this Union, acting through the highest organs of the constituted authority. Nor are we the less indignant at the menaces of military coercion by which the enforcement of an unjust system of Government is threatened, and which we are prepared to meet in a manner that shall become the high duties we owe to our posterity.

Resolved, That we highly approve the manner with which the legislature of our state and its executive have met the crisis presented by the aforesaid proclamation, and have every reason to feel a just pride in the lofty spirit of the people of our state, who are prepared with united hearts, and strong arms, to fly to her standard, in vindication of her dearest rights and liberties.

Resolved, That the whole state-rights and free-trade party of Charleston will volunteer *en masse* to the Governor; and that four citizens from each ward, and six from the neck, be appointed by the Chair to receive their enrolment, that they may be organized and arranged to such uniform and beat companies as may suit their several inclinations, locality, and convenience.

Resolved, That we have seen, with the most lively satisfaction, the patriotic spirit which has impelled the citizens of the country parishes composing this district to organize volunteer troops of mounted gunmen, for the purpose of repairing to this city in case the public

liberties of our country should be daringly assailed; and we exhort our fellow-citizens to persevere in these public-spirited efforts.

Resolved, That this meeting has viewed with indignation the concentration, by the Government of the United States, of military and naval forces in this harbour, and on the frontiers of South Carolina, such concentration being uncalled for by any public exigency; and if intended to control public opinion by appealing to our fears to carry into effect the proclamation of the President, we must regard it as an impotent attempt to accomplish a most unwarrantable purpose by unlawful means; an attempt which could only have originated in a total ignorance of the true character and condition of our citizens, whose past history has shown, that while they can be conciliated by kindness, they cannot be driven from their purposes by threats.

Resolved, That although we have felt it to be a sacred duty to manifest these determinations, and to express these sentiments, we have nevertheless seen with lively satisfaction not only the indications of a beneficial modification of the tariff, but the expression of sentiments in both branches of Congress, as well as in other quarters, auspicious to the peace and harmony of the Union, and that these indications shall be met by corresponding dispositions on our part—it is hereby declared, that it is the sense of this meeting, that pending the process of the measures here alluded to, on all occasional collision between the federal and state authorities should be sedulously avoided on both sides, in the hope that the painful controversy in which South Carolina is now engaged may be thereby satisfactorily adjusted, and the Union of the states be established on a sure foundation.

Resolved, Should these expectations, which we sincerely and patriotically cherish, be disappointed, and the state be left to no other resource but in a firm reliance on her own sovereignty, we mutually pledge ourselves to each other and our country, to sustain the ordinance of her convention laws, made in consequence thereof, and our consti-

tuted authorities, be the hazards what they may. And in order that our citizens may be shielded from the payment of the protecting duties imposed by the act of Congress, pronounced by the convention of the people of South Carolina unconstitutional, null, and void, the chairman of this meeting is hereby requested and authorised to nominate and associate with himself three commissioners to open a correspondence with the citizens of the different districts and parishes in the state, for the purpose of organizing and forming a free-trade importing company, in order that, if practicable, the whole of the articles of foreign merchandize consumed by the people of this state may hereafter be imported, free from the odious and unconstitutional tribute which we have hitherto paid.

Resolved, That while this meeting sees with satisfaction from the President's recent message to Congress, that he now acknowledges that, under the existing laws and constitution of the United States, he has no right to resort to MILITARY FORCE, for the purpose of coercing the state, and of enforcing within her limits those acts which have been pronounced by her convention to be "unconstitutionally void, and no law." Yet we cannot avoid the expression of our regret at the reiteration by the President of the imputation upon our citizens and constituted authorities, of a design to levy war, or commit some act of outrage against the United States, when all our measures, as well as our public declarations, have manifested a determination not to resort to force, except the same should become absolutely necessary, in self-defence, to repel invasion, or to maintain within our own limits the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to the people of South Carolina, as a sovereign state.

Resolved, That we should regard the conferring by Congress upon the President of the extraordinary powers demanded in his recent message, as a gross and palpable violation of the constitution of the United States, as investing the chief magistrate of this confederacy

with dictatorial powers, and giving to the executive, to a certain extent, an absolute control over the lives, liberties, and property of the people.

Resolved, That the proposition made by the President to supersede the jurisdiction of the courts of this state over our own citizens, in cases arising under her ordinance and laws, and giving to the federal courts an absolute control over the judicial tribunal of the state, would, if carried into effect, be utterly subversive not only of the rights of the states, but of every principle of civil and political liberty; and if submitted to, would establish amongst us a foreign judicature having cognizance of our state laws, and giving judgment in cases arising between our own citizens, contrary to the whole form and structure of our Government, and in manifest violation of the constitution, both of the state and of the United States.

Resolved, That while we cannot submit to the imputation of having acted rashly or unwarrantably in adopting measures of defence in reference to a system against which South Carolina has been in vain protesting for upwards of ten years, we deem it proper once more solemnly and publicly to disclaim all the objects which have been imputed to us, save only that of relieving ourselves from the operation of a system which we believe (in the strong language once held by our political opponents themselves) to be "utterly unconstitutional, grossly unequal and oppressive, and such an abuse of power as is incompatible with the principles of a free Government, and the great ends of civil society," and which we still believe must, if persevered in, reduce this fertile state to poverty and utter desolation, and her citizens to a condition of colonial vassalage.

Resolved, That the executive committee of thirteen of the state-rights and free-trade party be revived, and that they be authorised and requested to take the proper measures, and that the whole party in the parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael may be organized in such a manner, as, when called upon to aid peaceably in our civil capacity as citi-



zens, by the civil authorities of our state, it may be done with all possible promptitude, energy, and effect.

Upon taking the question on the preamble and resolutions, the same were adopted without a dissenting voice.

Committees were appointed under the resolution to raise volunteers.

Importing committee—J. Hamilton, jun., C. J. Colcock, Ker Boyce.

On the motion of Colonel John Bryan, it was

Resolved, That we, the volunteers of the city and district of Charleston, will wear a blue cockade, with the Palmetto button in the centre, so long as our services shall be deemed necessary, in maintaining the rights of the State of South Carolina; and all persons throughout the district, who have determined to support the state against military coercion on the part of the general Government, be and are hereby requested to do the same.

The meeting separated at ten o'clock.

### GARDEN SEEDS.

I, some time ago, notified my intention of selling garden seeds this winter; and I am now prepared to do it. Those who have read my writings on AGRICULTURE and GARDENING, and particularly my "ENGLISH GARDENER," will have perceived that I set forth, with much pains, the vast importance of being extremely careful with regard to the seeds which one sows: and, as to which matter, there are two things to be attended to; first, the *genuineness* of the seeds; and next, as to their *soundness*. The former is the more important point of the two; for it is a great deal better to have no plants at all, than to have things come up, and, at the end of a month or two, to find that you have got a parcel of stuff, not at all resembling that which you thought you were about to have. Those who have read my *Gardening Book*, chap. 4, will want very little more to convince them of the importance of this matter. I have always taken great delight in having perfect plants of every description; but, to get into the way of raising

good and true garden seeds, requires that you be settled upon some sufficient space of ground for *several successive years*; and it has been my lot to live under a Government, which, if you take the liberty to differ from it in opinion, has taken care to prevent you, by hook or by crook, from being settled in any place, except one of its prisons, for any considerable length of time. Since, however, it, in a lucky hour, had the wisdom to pass *PEEL'S BILL*, it has been rather less rummaging; though it certainly *meant well* towards me in the year 1831. I have, however, been suffered to remain long enough at *KENSINGTON* to bring the seeds of a good many plants to what I deem perfection, and others nearly to that state; and I have taken a little farm in Surrey, partly for the purpose of raising garden seeds upon a greater scale than I was able to do it at *KENSINGTON*; this year I have raised a considerable quantity of seeds, which I now offer for sale in the following manner, and on the following terms.

It does not suit me to keep a *seed-shop*, and to retail seeds by the small quantity; but to make up packages, each sufficient for a garden for the year, and to sell that package for a fixed sum of money. When I was driven to *Long Island* by *SIDMOUTH'S* dungeon bill, and when the Hampshire parsons and *SIDMOUTH* and *CASTLEREAGH* chuckled at the thought of my being gone to mope away my life in melancholy, in the United States; and when the famous traveller, Mr. *FEARON*, brought home word, that I was whiling away my life in a dilapidated country house, the paths to which were over-run with thistles and brambles; when Mr. *FEARON*, that accurate observer, exclaimed, in the language of his brother *SOLOMON*, "Lo! it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles covered the face thereof, and the post and rail fence thereof was broken down;" when Mr. *FEARON*, in the fulness of his compassion, was thus exclaiming, I, though he found me in a pair of Yankee trousers not worth a groat, was preparing to sell seeds in a house

at New York, for which I gave fourteen hundred dollars a year. In short, I imported a great quantity of seeds from London, which I sold principally in the following manner:

I had *little boxes* made, into each of which I put a sufficiency of each sort of seeds for a gentleman's garden for the year. The large seeds were in paper bags, and the smaller seeds in papers. In the box along with the seeds, I put a printed paper containing a list of the names of the several seeds, and against each name the *number*, from numbers *one* to the end: then, there were corresponding numbers marked upon the bags and the parcels. So that, to know the sort of seed, the purchaser had nothing to do but to look at the numbers on the parcels and then to look at the list. Many of these boxes of seeds went as far as Lower Canada to the north, and into the Floridas, to New Orleans, and even to the West India islands, to the south; and the net proceeds were amongst the means of enabling me to prance about the country; amongst the means of enabling me to lead a pleasant life; of enabling me to stretch my long arm across the Atlantic, and to keep up the thumping upon Corruption, which I did to some tune.

I intend to dispose of my seeds in the same manner now, except that I shall use *coarse linen bags* instead of boxes. The several parcels of seeds will be put up either in paper bags or paper parcels; and a printed list with the *names* and *numbers* will be prepared; and, then, the parcels and the list will be put into the linen bag, and sewed up, and will be ready to be sent away to any person who may want it.

A bag for a considerable garden; a garden of the better part of an acre, perhaps, will be sold for *twenty-five shillings*; and for a smaller garden, for *twelve shillings and sixpence*. These seeds, if bought at the shop of a seedsman, would come to more than three times the money; and so they ought: for the seedsman has his expensive shop to keep; has his books to keep; has his credit to give, and has his seeds to purchase with his ready

money. While, therefore, I have a right to proceed in my manner, he does nothing wrong. By the lists, which I publish below, the reader will perceive that, to the garden seeds I have added the seeds of several annual flowers. They are not of very *rare* kinds; but they are all very pretty; and, even these flower seeds alone, if purchased at a seedsman's, would come, and ought to come, to pretty nearly one half of the money which I charge for the whole. Of some of the sorts of seeds the purchaser will think the quantity *small*; and, of these the cauliflower is one; but, it must be a thundering garden that requires more than three hundred cauliflower plants; and, if carefully sowed, agreeably to the directions in my *Gardening Book*, the seed which I put up is more than sufficient for any gentleman's garden; and I will pledge myself for the soundness of every individual seed. In the *small bag*, the quantity is in proportion to the price. Authors always want people to read their books; or, to purchase them at least. The reader will not, therefore, be surprised, that I *most earnestly exhort* all those who buy my seeds, to *buy my book, too*, and even then they will not have half so much to pay as if they had to purchase the seeds of a seedsman.

I have only one fear upon this occasion, and that is, that gentlemen's gardeners, who are in the habit of dealing with seedsmen, and who are apt to adhere too literally to that text of Scripture, which says that "he who *soweth abundantly* shall reap abundantly;" but, begging their pardon, this does not mean covering the ground with the seeds, which, though it may produce abundant reaping to the seedsman, is far from having that tendency with regard to the crop. *Thick sowing* is, indeed, injurious in three ways: first, it is a waste of seed and of money, of which it is actually a flinging away of both: second, it makes work in the thinning out of the plants: third, the plants will never be so fine if they come up thick. Therefore, in my *Gardening Book*, chapter 4, beginning at paragraph 85, I take very great pains



to give instructions for thin sowing ; and, if every one who cultivates a garden could see the regularity, the cleanliness, and the beauty, of my seed beds, never should we again see a parcel of seeds flung promiscuously over the ground. It is probable, that three hundred cauliflower seeds will lie in a thimble ; and if you want three hundred plants, it is better to sow these three hundred seeds in a proper manner, than to fling twenty thousand seeds over the same space of ground. You must cut the superfluous seeds up with a hoe, or pull them out with your hand ; and, small as they are, and insignificant as you may think their roots to be, they rob and starve one another, even before they get into rough leaf. I know very well, that it requires a great deal *more time* to sow a bed of a hundred feet long, and with cabbages, for instance ; a great deal more time to sow it in drills, and to put the seed in thinly, than to fling the seed thickly over the ground and just rake it in ; but, look at the *subsequent operations* ; and you will find that, in the end, this "*sowing abundantly*" costs ten times the time and the labour which are required by the method of sowing pointed out in my book. Therefore, let no man imagine, that to have a plentiful crop a great quantity of seed is necessary. When, indeed, you have reason to fear that the seed is not sound, and when you cannot obtain that which you know to be sound, it may be prudent to throw in great parcels of it in order to have the best chance to get *some* plants ; but, hap-hazard work like this ought to be avoided, if possible ; and, at any rate, I pledge myself, for the soundness of all my seed ; I pledge myself that, if properly sowed, every seed that I sell shall grow. Thus far as to my seeds in general. I have now to speak of one sort of seed, which, as that horrible old Whig, Sir Robert Walpole, said of his bribes, "*is sold only at my shop.*" This is the seed of the CISALPINE strawberry : this strawberry, unlike all others that I ever heard of, *produces its like* from the seed ; is raised with the great-

est facility, bears most abundantly, and *keeps bearing until the hard frosts come.* The seeds are so small that a little pinch of them between the finger and the thumb is sufficient for a very large garden ; and the method of rearing the plants is this : about the first week of February, or it may be a little later, fill with fine earth, to within about an inch of the top, a flower-pot from twelve to fifteen inches over ; take the little pinch of seed and scatter it very thinly over the top of the earth ; then put some very fine earth over the seed a quarter of an inch thick, or rather less. Set the pot in a green-house, or in the window of any room where the sun comes, and give water very carefully, and very gently, as occasion may require. When the warm weather comes, the pot should be set out of doors in a warm place when there is no heavy rain, and should be taken in at night if there be any fear of frost. Towards the end of *April*, the pot may be set out of doors altogether ; and, small as the plants will still be, they will be fit to be planted out in the natural ground by the middle, or towards the latter end, of *May*. Then dig a piece of ground deep, and make it extremely fine upon the top, and put out the little plants in rows *two feet apart*, and *two feet* apart in the row ; for, though not bigger than a thread, each plant will multiply itself into a considerable *tuft* before the middle of July ; and then they will begin to bear, and they will keep on bearing as long as the hard frosts keep away. The very runners which proceed from these plants, will take root, blow, and have ripe fruit, during the first autumn. When the bearing is over, cut off all the runners, clear the ground close up to the *tufts*, and let the tufts remain to bear another year, when their produce is prodigious. But, then you must grub them up ; for they so multiply their offsets, and so fill the ground with their roots, that they almost cease to bear if they remain longer. So that you must have a new plantation from seed every year ; and the seed you may save yourself, by squeezing the pulp of dead-ripe strawberries in water, which sends the seed to the bottom of the wa-

ter: you skim off the pulp, and drain away the water, then put the seed out in the sun to dry, and then put it up and preserve it for sowing in the winter. There is a *red* sort and a *white* sort, which you may keep separate or sow them and plant them promiscuously. And, now, to do justice to Sir CHARLES WOLSLEY, who is my teacher as to this piece of knowledge, and at whose house, at WOLSLEY PARK, I saw, in September last, the finest dishes of strawberries that I ever had seen in the whole course of my life. They were served up in a mixed state, some red and some white; and the taste and fragrance were equal to the beauty. Sir CHARLES was so good as to make his gardener save me a considerable quantity of the seed, which, by the bursting of the paper, became mixed; and, therefore, the parcels of this strawberry seed, which I shall put into my packages, will, the purchaser will bear in mind, be some of the *white* strawberry and some of the *red*. After this long story about garden seeds, which, however, is not so execrably stupid as the impudent babble of the Whigs about having "*settled upon a Speaker* for the next House of Commons," I proceed to give a list of the names of my seeds, and of the numbers which are to be put upon the parcels; once more observing, that a large package of seeds will be sold for *twenty-five shillings*, and a small one for *twelve shillings and sixpence*. A direction may be sewed on the package in a minute, and it can be sent to any part of the country by the coach, or in any other manner, as the weight, even of the larger package, is only about 16 pounds.

#### KITCHEN GARDEN SEEDS.

- No.
1. Asparagus.
  2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
  3. .... Long-pod.
  4. .... Early Masagan.
  5. .... Kidney (or French) Scarlet Runners.
  6. .... White Runners.
  7. .... Black Dwarf.
  8. .... Dun Dwarf.

9. .... Robin-Egg.
10. .... Speckled.
11. Beet—Red.
12. Brocoli—White.
13. .... Purple.
14. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
15. .... Early York.
16. .... Savoy.
17. Cale—Curled—Scotch.
18. Carrot.
19. Cauliflower.
20. Celery.
21. Chervil.
22. Cress.
23. Cucumber, early frame.
24. Corn (Cobbett's).
25. Endive.
26. Leek.
27. Lettuce—White Coss.
28. .... Russia Coss.
29. .... Brown Dutch.
30. .... Green Cabbage.
31. Mustard—White.
32. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
33. Onion.
34. Parsnip.
35. Parsley—Curled.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. .... Tall Marrowfats.
38. .... Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. .... White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Strawberry—Cisalpine.
44. Turnip—Early-Garden.

#### FLOWER SEEDS.

45. Canterbury Bells.
46. Catch Fly.
47. China-asters.
48. Clarkia, (very beautiful).
49. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
50. Indian Pink.
51. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
52. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
53. Marvel of Peru.
54. Poppy—Carnation.
55. .... French.
56. Stock—White Wall-flower.
57. .... Scarlet, ten-week.
58. Mignonette.
59. Sweet-william.
60. Sweet Pea.



61. Venus's Looking-glass.  
62. Virginia Stock.  
63. Wall-flower.

### FIELD SEEDS.

**SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.**—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 9d. a pound; above 100lbs. 7d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

**MANGEL WURZEL SEED.**—Any quantity under 10lbs., 8d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner.

### TREE SEED.

**LOCUST SEED.**—6s. a pound.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,  
FRIDAY, FEB. 15, 1833.

### BANKRUPTS.

BINNS, W., Manchester, flour-dealer.  
BYRNE, C. H., Liverpool, sail-maker.  
COGSWELL, J., Liverpool, wharfinger.  
DOLLAR, W., and G. THOMSON, Buck-  
lersbury, Manchester-warehouseman.  
HEARN, G., Malden, Essex, plumber.  
JONES, T. L., Holyhead, Anglesea, brewer.  
KEYZAR, G., Liverpool, timber-merchant.  
MATHEWS, G., Pountney-lane, wine-mer-  
chant.  
MOSELY, L., Shadwell, Staffordshire-ware-  
houseman.  
PAGE, J., Birmingham, tailor.  
PAYNE, J., Leicester, dyer.  
PHILLIPS, M., Plymouth, saddler.  
PULLAN, R., Hatfield, Yorkshire, carpenter.  
SPACKMAN, W. F., City-road, oilman.  
THOMAS, J., Walsall, Staffordshire, grocer.  
WOODS, J., Liverpool, coal-merchant.

TUESDAY, FEB. 19, 1833.

### INSOLVENTS.

BYERS, G., Colonnade, Pall-mall, hat-maker.  
DAFFURN, T., Soho, corn-dealer.

### BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

GAUKRODGER, T., Huddersfield, merchant.  
LORD, R., Northamptonshire, maltster.  
PRESTINARI, F., Leather-lane, Holborn,  
looking-glass-manufacturer.  
SWIFT, T. C., Eastchurch, Kent, victualler.

### BANKRUPTS.

BROWNENT, S., Liverpool, watchmaker.  
DICKINSON, W., Milk-street, warehouseman.  
DOWNES, J., Islington, jeweller.  
JACOB, G., Southampton, grocer.  
LLOYD, J., Carnarvon, builder.  
MARTIN, M., Oxford-street, paper-stainer.  
MORRIS, S., Hellingly, Sussex, shoemaker.  
PASS, M., Nine-elms, Vauxhall, lime-burner.  
SHEA, J., Plymouth, watchmaker.  
WALKER, J. T., Oxford-street, watchmaker.

### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

DUNCAN, G., jun., Glasgow, cabinet-maker.

### LONDON MARKETS.

**MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Feb. 18.**—Owing to contrary winds we had to-day very moderate supplies of Wheat and Grain from Kent, Essex, and Suffolk, and the show of land carriage samples was likewise limited. The fresh parcels of Wheat were for the most part only of middling quality. The market was but thinly attended, and the purchases generally were effected at the currency of this day week, although one or two selected lots obtained rather more money. Old Wheat realized fully the former rates. In bonded Corn no transactions took place.

Bright Malting Barley continued scarce: Many of the samples on hand being black and stained, were very difficult to quit, and rather cheaper. The distillers being well stocked, refrain from purchasing at present, and therefore distilling, as well as grinding descriptions, hang heavily on hand.

Malt remains extremely dull, and no symptoms of prices rallying.

The trade in Oats was exceedingly languid. The article met a slow retail sale, and must be noted the turn cheaper.

Beans met a limited sale at the former currency.

The demand for Peas decreases, and both boiling and feed qualities, were 1s. cheaper than this day week.

Wheat .....	54s. to 60s.
Rye .....	32s. to 34s.
Barley .....	21s. to 28s.
— fine .....	30s. to 32s.
Peas, White .....	30s. to 34s.
— Boilers .....	36s. to 40s.
— Grey .....	30s. to 34s.
Beans, Small .....	—s. to —s.
— Tick .....	28s. to 30s.
Oats, Scotch Potato .....	22s. to 24s.
— Feed .....	13s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack .....	48s. to 50s.

## PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, —s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new... —s. to —s.	
Pork, India, new... 125s. 0d. to —s.	
— Mess, new ... 72s. 6d. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast ... 80s. to 82s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 76s. to 86s.	
— Cork ... 75s. to 78s.	
— Limerick ... 75s. to 76s.	
— Waterford... 68s. to 76s.	
— Dublin ... 68s. to 78s.	
Cheese, Cheshire... 54s. to 74s.	
— Gloucester, Double... 50s. to 62s.	
— Gloucester, Single... 48s. to 52s.	
— Edam ... 40s. to 48s.	
— Gouda ... 40s. to 48s.	
Hams, Irish... 50s. to 60s.	

## SMITHFIELD.—Feb. 18.

This day's supply of Beasts was for the time of year, moderately good: the supply of each kind of small stock but limited. The trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull. With Beef at a depression of full 2d. per stone, with Mutton at fully, Veal and Pork at barely Friday's quotations.

The Beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short horns, and Devonshire (chiefly) oxen and steers, with some cows and heifers; Welch runts and Scots and Norfolk homebreeds,—the two latter breeds principally from Norfolk, with a few from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; the three former breeds mostly from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and the Western districts; with about 100 Herefords chiefly from the midland districts, as many Sussex beasts, and about as many Town's-end cows, with a few Staffords, &c. from sundry quarters.

A full moiety of the sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Downs and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to three of the latter: about a fourth South Downs, and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breeds, polled (with a few pens of horned) Norfolks, old Leicesters, and old Lincolns, with a few horned and polled Scotch and Welch Sheep, Merinos, horned Dorsets, &c.

Beasts, 2,613; sheep, 16,660; calves, 125; pigs, 160.

## MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 22.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull at the prices of Monday.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	87½	87½	87½	87½	87½	87½

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